SCHWARZENAU

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Volume II JULY, 1940 Number One

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Freeman Ankrum, is pastor of the Brethren Church of Linwood, Md. He is a descendant of Alexander Mack of the seventh generation. His responsibilities and offices in his denomination have been numerous. The genealogical work of which the introductory chapter is here presented has long been his avocational pursuit.

Robert Sherfy, is pastor of the Church of the Brethren of Kokomo, Ind., at the present time. Has served other pastorates. A graduate of Bridgewater College he received his B.D. from Bethany Biblical Seminary in 1940.

Elvert Miller, a minister of the Church of the Brethren. A student at Bridgewater College and a graduate of George Washington University. A student of Bethany Biblical Seminary.

Reuel B. Pritchett, pastor and elder of the French Broad Church of Tennessee. Eld. Pritchett carries numerous District responsibilities and is well known in the Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren. Something of a traveler, he is a genuine antiquarian and an historical student with an especial enthusiasm for the history of his church.

Trevor Wyatt Moore, the most youthful contributor to Schwarzenau to date. An aspiring writer, High School student, and the Wyatt is reminder of being the grandson of a minister of the Church. Resident, Chicago Heights, Illinois.

John Roller, writes poetry frequently. A minister, who finds the printing trade congenial. Residence, Chicago, Illinois. Old graduates of Bethany Biblical Seminary remember him.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

John D. Long, minister of Church of the Brethren. Graduate of Juniata College. B. D. '41 of Bethany Biblical Seminary. A pastor and a notable preacher.

Claxton Helms, associate librarian of McPherson College, McPherson, Kansas.

Jacob F. Replogle, a graduate of Bridgewater College. Home address is the nation's capital. Minister of the Church of the Brethren with a pastoral record. In residence at the Seminary and in the summer of 1941, pastor of the historic old Pipe Creek Church in Maryland.

Andrew H. Holderreed, minister of the Church of the Brethren. Native of State of Washington. Pastoral experience and in Seminary residence. A native aptitude for historical studies.

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A STATEMENT

This is in lieu of the conventional editorial. It is a business statement.

One half the subscribers to the first volume of Schwarzenau have renewed and continue as subscribing members for the second volume.

If there is a blue pencil check on this page YOU are one whose subscription has not been received. If you do not subscribe we shall reckon this copy as a gift to you.

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The numbers of copies printed in excess of the number of actual subscribers is small. So if you expect to keep your files unbroken or be sure of getting all numbers SUBSCRIBE NOW. This is the last call.

A considerable sale of back numbers of Volume One has already occurred. If anyone is interested in volume one, we can state we have at this writing only seventeen complete sets that are available. They will be sold at regular subscription rate of one dollar ($1.00) per year while they last.

ALEXANDER MACK, THE TUNKER, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

FREEMAN ANKRUM

INTRODUCTION

The article on Alexander Mack, is the first chapter of a book now in preparation by Rev. Freeman Ankrum, Linwood, Maryland, Pastor of the Linwood Brethren Church. He is a lineal descendant of Alexander Mack. His father and mother live at Gratiot, Ohio, and he descends from Alexander Mack on his mother's side, who was a Mack.

The Author has been cradled and brought up in the traditions of the Macks and for fifteen years has been making a detailed research in view of presenting to the public "Alexander Mack, The Tunker and His Descendants". Rare manuscripts, old Bibles, photographs and old letters have been made available or are in possession of the Author. There are numerous descendants in all branches of the Brethren Church today who are true to the faith of the Founder. Much research has been done and is now nearing completion which will make this the largest collection of authentic material upon the life of Alexander Mack and his descendants, gathered in one volume. A prominent

part has been taken by the family in the world and the church down to the present time. The living descendants are in the thousands, scattered thruout the United States. Family traditions passed down from generation to generation and not appearing in print before will be in this production. It is hoped to have it ready for the printer within the next eight or ten months. The Author was working in co-operation with the late Ex. Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania and Rev. J. H. Moore of Sebring, Florida, at the times of their deaths. Credit will be given in the finished book for help received from numerous sources. It is desired to list all known descendants of Alexander Mack. Any not having been contacted who may read this are requested to immediately write the Author at Linwood, Maryland.

*Time marches on, leaving fragments of memories that lose their details in the pathway of life. Much has been written regarding the founders of the Brethren church, in which all branches that have a common origin are meant. Older descendants of Alexander Mack are passing from the scene of life. The early pioneers of the church were too busy looking after the infant church, and incidentally making a living at the same time that the records were more or less fragmentary. Family traditions have been handed down, which the writer has been able in part to secure, and record for posterity.

Alexander Mack the founder of the Church was born on August 3, 1679 near Schwarzenau, Germany, in Schriesheim, in the electorate of Palatia, between Manheim and Heidelberg. He was a member of a very respectable and wealthy family. He is reported to have secured an education in one of the German universities. He was a Presbyterian and educated in the Calvinistic faith. While little is known of his immediate family, one brother was a General in the German Army. The man who followed the way of peace apparently is better known than the brother who assayed to follow the way of war. The young man learned the milling trade and assisted in the care of the numerous vineyards belonging to the family. Evidence would indicate that the young man was studious and thotful. Just thirty-one years before Alexander Mack was born, the war known as "The Thirty Years War" closed with the peace of Westphalia. This had had its effect upon the state Church and the populace. Its frightfulness no doubt was much discussed in the ears of the young Alexander. There had been a general decimation of the German people. Ten million people perished in the general conflict. A church historian states, "The cruelties inflicted during the war upon the defenseless people are indescribable. The unarmed were treated with brutal ferocity. Great numbers perished by famine.

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More frightful than famine were the immorality and the moral decay which ensued upon the long reign of violence." Thus the basis for the moral and religious decay of the times.

The mind of the young man found companionship in the ideas of kindred minds. Those who so thot and felt were called because of their piousness, "Pietists". The young man engaged in his daily tasks while he no doubt performed them faithfully was dreaming and thinking of a day when the people might get back to the solid base of the New Testament. The coldness and the callousness of the religious minded people surrounding him caused him to become a dissenter from the faith in which he had been reared. He became a leader of like minded students who investigated the New Testament, and the records and writings of the Christian Fathers. Upon reaching the age of twenty-one, Alexander Mack took for his wife a young lady from the same community and about the same age, by the name of Anna Margaretha Klingen. This young lady was born on April 20, 1680 and became the bride of the thotful and forward looking young man on November 4, 1700. To this union were born five children, three sons and two daughters. They were, John Valentine, Johannes, Alexander, Christina and Anna Maria. The two daughters died in Germany, the three sons later accompanying the father to America.

Alexander Mack was anxious to ascertain the mind of the Lord as revealed in the scriptures, and to this source was his mind directed in searching for the old paths. In his reading he became convinced that immersion in water was the New Testament baptism, and a believer was the only proper subject for the ordinance, and that the doctrines and practices set forth in his "Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God" are such as believers should receive and obey. Accordingly he and his wife and six others in the year 1708 were immersed in the river Eder, and covenanted together to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord. The list of those baptized as given by Alexander Mack, Jr., is perhaps correct, while there seems to be some difference of opinion regarding one or two who were that morning members of the newly organized church. The list given in addition to the founder and his wife are, Joanna Noethiger, or Bony, Andrew Bony, George Grebi, Lucas Vetter, John Kipping and Joanna Kipping. These eight members of the pioneer church were not a group of people who had been

irreligious prior to the organization of the Taufers or Tunkers. All were members of a Protestant church before 1708. However they were not satisfied with the formalism and ritualism which oppressed their spirits.

On the other hand they could not fully and unreservedly adopt the faith of the Pietists who had such a hatred for all church organization that they had abandoned all the ordinances of the house of God. They on the one hand rejected the creed of man, and looked on the other hand with disfavor to the abandoning of the ordinances, turned to the Bible for guidance. They learned from God's Word that ordinances were essential and creed was not. Therefore adopting the Bible as their guide and rule, they organized a church without a creed, and with all the ordinances as taught by Jesus and His followers, as recorded in the New Testament.

God protected this infant community altho there was much to be endured and sacrificed by the faithful. Alexander Mack had a large share of persecution as his lot. Although he was rich, yet out of love for the brethren he became poor, like his Master before him. The heavy hand of persecution was often laid upon his brethren and they were locked up in prison. Only by paying the money against them in fines were they released. Unfortunately this releasement was only temporary. By paying the fines, his handsome patrimony, fine vineyards and profitable mill were taken from him. He with his brethren sought refuge in different places from persecution, but alas those places were not to be found. In 1713 Alexander Mack published his book entitled, "Rites and Ordinances of the House of God and the Ground Searching Questions". Prince Henry had tempered to some extent the persecutions heaped upon the shoulders of this harmless people. However in 1720 the tolerant policy of the Prince was discontinued. Some of the Brethren had sailed for America the year before under the leadership of Peter Becker. The remaining Brethren were obliged to flee with Mack to Westervain, West Friesland, Holland. Historians differ regarding the death of the wife of Alexander Mack. Martin Brumbaugh in his history states that "she died August 11, 1758". There is also another record which is perhaps the correct one, that she died in 1720 after twenty years of married life in Germany. It is also stated that within one week after he was called upon to mourn the passing of his beloved companion, the oldest daughter, Christina followed her in

death, bringing double grief in so short a time. Christina was aged six years at the time of her death. Called upon to mourn those of his household, as well as the great persecution now heaped upon him caused him to plan a means of escape from part at least. After nine years in Holland the Brethren decided to join the group which emigrated to America.

From Rotterdam they departed as a congregation and after considerable time spent in passage landed in Philadelphia on September 15, 1729. Great was the joy of the ones who had come to America with Peter Becker when the information was conveyed to them that the beloved founder of the church had made up his mind to cast his lot with them in the new country of freedom of worship. His three sons, Valentine, John and Alexander, Jr., accompanied the group to America. What a happy and glorious reunion when they went down the river to meet the oncoming boat with its precious cargo, that September day. Alexander Mack came to America a poor man in this world's goods, but rich in faith. Some two years after the party's arrival in America, the people of Germantown in their appreciation for what he had done for them erected a modest log cabin for the use of the beloved founder of the church. It was the love gift of friends who realized and appreciated the worth of their leader. Today the present church at Germantown stands just back of the lot where stood the house where Mack spent his last years. Johannes Mack, one of the sons inherited the house after his father's death and used it to further his trade as a stocking weaver. Later on it became known as the "Old Weaver House." Here in this humble cottage upon half an acre of ground in Van Bebber township, Alexander Mack passed from the seen world to the unseen world on January 31, 1735. Perhaps the hardships, the losses and the sacrifices made in behalf of his God and his Brethren hastened his departure. Fortunately tho, his last days were spent free from the shadow of constant persecution. Thus just six years after the founder of the church came to America, he closed his labors on earth. He was buried in the Upper burying ground of Germantown, sometimes known as Axe's burying ground, and the following brief inscription, in the German language marks the place: "Here rest the remains of A. M., born 1679, and died 1735, aged 56 years." At this place the body remained until November 13, 1894, when it was removed to the cemetery at the Church of the Brethren at Ger-

mantown, Pa., where it now rests. Rev. G. N. Falkenstein with the assistance of others, had it removed from the now deserted Upper Burying Ground to its present resting place. The place is marked by a marble slab bearing the following inscription: "Alexander Mack, Sr., the first minister and organizer of the Church of the Brethren in the year 1708. Born at Schriesheim, Germany, 1679. Came to Germantown 1729. Removed from Axe's Burying Ground 1894."

When the spade had made its descent to where rested all that was mortal of the founder of the church, the body had indeed gone back to the dust of the earth from which it had come. So the dust which at one time had pulsated with life, thot and love was tenderly transferred to the spot where it shall await the awakening and the assembling at the first Trumpet sound of the awakening Angel. An old funeral record gives us the very picturesque description of the last rites of this honored man.

"Let us now lift the veil of the past for a few moments and picture to ourselves and the generations of the future the scenes enacted at the burial of this venerable patriarch and warrior in Christ.

No sooner had the soul taken its flight upon that bleak winter night, than the Einlader or Anzeiger (notifier) was sent out towards Germantown, Ephrata, Coventry, Oley and the Swamp. Wherever there were Brethren they went from house to house, advising them of the death of the patriarch and inviting them to the funeral. This was a peculiar custom in vogue among the Germans and existed down to the early years of the present century.

Other brethren again took charge of the obsequies. The schreiner (cabinet-maker) was sent to measure for the coffin. This was a shaped wooded box made of unpainted cherry wood, as it was believed that the grave worm could easiest penetrate this wood, and thus believed that the body would be devoured most quickly. In making the coffin great care was taken that no shaving escaped. These, as well as all particles of saw dust were carefully gathered up and placed in the bottom of the coffin, and then covered with a linen cloth, upon which the body was placed. The reason for this great care was the belief that, if any particle escaped, whatever house it blew into the next death would occur therein in the near future. Then, when the coffin was carried into the house of mourning, it was always brought in head first, or else another funeral

would soon follow. Care was also taken to have the foot always towards the door and the lid hidden from view behind the outer door.

There were two peculiarities about this coffin. Owing to the prominence of the deceased, eight metal handles were procured, a species of extravagance rarely indulged in by the Germans of that early day. The other was that the lid was a peaked one, giving the body ample room. The ordinary coffin of that day had a flat lid, and was commonly known as a nasenquetcher, from the fact that it often flattened the nose of the deceased.

Great indeed was the company that assembled on the day of the funeral; the humble cabin in Bettelhausen, wherein reposed the mortal remains of the patriarch, was much too small for the multitude who had journeyed from all quarters over the snow capped hills to bear tribute to the character and pure life of the founder of the German Baptist Brethren in America. A man who was once in affluence, while in the Fatherland gave up his all for the cause, came to the wilds of America for conscience' sake, and here ended his days in a cabin built for him with contributions of the charitable.

Upon this occasion were gathered the Brethren from Germantown; prominent among them were, Peter Becker, Christopher Sauer, Heinrich Kalkglaser, Heinrich Pastorious and others old and young. Then came the solitary from the Cocalico, who, led by Beissel, Wohlfarth and the Eckerling brothers, all in their picturesque Pilgrim garb, had walked the whole distance from Lancaster over the frozen ground in silence and Indian file. There were Brethren from Coventry and Chester County with Martin Urner, who had but a short time before been consecrated by the deceased as his successor and bishop of the denomination in Pennsylvania. There was also a deputation of the Sabbatarian Brethren from the French creek. Lastly, there came from the ridge of the heights of the Wissahickon those of the Pietists of the Kelpius Community who still lived there as hermits. Among these recluses were Conrad Matthai, Johann Gottfried Selig, Daniel Geisler, Christopher Witt, Andreas Bony and others; all to perform the last homage to the religious leader who now reposed cold and inanimate in the lowly cabin by the roadside.

The obsequies commenced, as was then the custom, about noon with a funeral feast, of which gammon, cakes, cheese and punch were

important features. This was followed by religious services, lasting until the sun had set, and when darkness had fairly set in a cortege was formed. First came flambeau-bearers; then the carriers, four of whom bore the coffin upon their shoulders; then followed the Wissahickon Brothers, chanting the De Profundus alternately with the Ephrata contingent, who sang a hymn especially composed for the occasion. The rear was brot up by the relatives, friends and Germantown Brethren.

It was an impressive and weird sight as the cortege, with its burden and flickering torches, filed with slow and solemn step down the old North Wales road. A walk of about a quarter of a mile brought them to a graveyard. It was merely a small field, half an acre in extent, which was divided from the road by a low stone wall and partly fenced off from the other fields by a rail fence. This ground was known as Der Obere gemein Kirchoff (the upper common burying ground), and was free to all residents who had contributed towards the wall and fence, or such respectable white residents as paid a certain sum for opening the grave. The ground belonged to no particular congregation, nor was it conseçrated ground in the usual sense of the word. When the procession arrived at the grave, the sight was an inspiring one, worthy of the artist's brush;—the hermits and brethren in their peculiar garb, with uncovered heads and long flowing beards, chanting their requiem; the snow covered ground; the flickering torches; the coffin upon its rude bier; the black, yawning grave, and the star lit canopy above. As the mourners surrounded the grave another dirge was sung while the body was lowered into its resting place. Three clods were then thrown into the grave, a hollow sound reverberating in the night air as they struck the coffin. The ceremony was typical of the return of the body to dust, whence it came. A number of Brethren then seized spades and filled in the grave. When it was about half filled the torches were extinguished and thrown into the tomb and the filling proceeded with. After this the company dispersed, and the body of Alexander Mack, founder of the Dunker denomination in America, was left to repose in its narrow cell until after the lapse of a century and a half, when the remaining dust was tenderly removed to consecrated ground in the rear of the church of which he was the patriarch. Well may it be said that he now rests with his own people.

There is pointed out in Germany today an old mill in which Alexander Mack is supposed to have worked in 1710. One of the prized possessions of Bridgewater College, of Bridgewater, Virginia, is one of Alexander Mack's Bibles. There are notes on the margin evidently made by the hand of the founder of the church. This book is well preserved and is kept in a glass covered box and in a fire proof safe. He left this Bible to Alexander, Jr., who at his death in 1803 left it to the Germantown Congregation. This Congregation left it to Elder Philip Rothenberger, who left it to Elder Henry Kurtz in 1841. Elder Kurtz left it to his family at his death in 1874. Elder Jacob H. Kurtz came into possession of it and let Dr. John S. Flory have it for Bridgewater College in 1911.

If we may retrace our steps, there is no doubt that various causes led to the untimely demise of the founder of the church. To see staunch friends led away by those ideas that were entirely foreign to the former understanding of God's word, were discouraging. There was a sad state of affairs when Alexander Mack came to America. The Germantown and Coventry Brethren were faithfully following the true practices of the church. In the Conestoga country Conrad Beissel and his followers had withdrawn, rebaptized themselves, formed a new community, observed Saturday as the Sabbath, and began to proselyte in the faithful congregations. Concerning the reception given to Alexander Mack, Peter Miller writes, "This reverend man would have well deserved to be received with arms of love by all the pious in common after all that he had suffered in Germany, especially from his own people;" but Mack was a firm believer in the doctrines of the church and could not countenance innovations. He learned at Germantown of the strange conditions in the Conestoga country and his heart was saddened. He prayerfully resolved to visit his own people and to suspend fellowship, as the Germantown congregation had previously done, with the followers of Beissel.

In October of 1730 Alexander Mack visited the members at Falkner's swamp, accompanied by several of the Brethren. Beissel, it seems came to the same place at the same time and conducted services in the house of John Senseman. To this meeting Alexander Mack went, evidently for the purpose of opening a way for reconciliation. Mack made an address to the people in which he piously

exclaimed, "The peace of the Lord be with you." To which Beissel replied, "We have the same peace." Mack proposed that both parties should betake themselves to prayer to ascertain which of them was guilty of the separation. Then Mack and his followers fell upon their knees and he offered up a fervent prayer. At the conclusion of the prayer Mack enquired the reason for the separation. To which Beissel replied, censuring the Brethren for coming to the meeting, and refusing to consider their differences.

At another time a visit was made to Ephrata in the hope of a reconciliation. But Beissel hid himself away and the meeting did not occur. It will be seen from this that the influence of Bishop Mack was exerted for a reconciliation on the ground of a confession and a return to the faith and practices of the church. Beissel would not accept the proffered terms. He later did offer to drop all differences, and to fellowship with the Brethren; but this could not be done for the reason that no confession of wrong was proposed, and hence union was impossible. Surely this hastened the end of him who had given his all for his Lord, his Church and his Brethren. Evidently Beissel did not hold anything personal against the patriarch who had appealed to him to forget their differences and worship together as of yore, as he attended the funeral and took part in the obsequies. In his life, Alexander Mack exemplified the doctrines his followers love, founded a church that has steadily grown to splendid proportions, and won the admiration and respect of numerous persons throughout the civilized world. In his death, he drew his sorrowing followers still closer to him and bequeathed to his people a rich legacy of truth. On the anniversary of his death let his Brethren recount his services, retell the story of his life, and rededicate themselves to the cause for which he lived, sacrificed and died. He was no one who preached to others, forgetting his own household. We may infer that he was indeed a Christian father, from the circumstances that all his sons became pious, and were united to the church before they had completed their seventeenth year. What may seem somewhat remarkable, they all made public confession of religion in the seventeenth year of their age. Thus while we venerate his character, it is certain that he wished to be effaced, and that we should honor the Christ and the church which he established. The founder was no doubt willing to be in the background of the system

of faith and practice which he established. The years that have come down since his life and death have only added to the testimony of posterity to the staunchness of his character and the soundness of his principles. Each generation of his descendants has within its numerous ranks those who so fervently stand for the faith, that they also are worthy of the name and lineage of the worthy founder and ancestor of the church. For over two hundred years since his passing, have his descendants, both lineal and spiritual, followed in the steps pointed out to them by the young man willing to be led of the Lord Jesus Christ. At the time of his baptism in the river Eder in Germany he was only twenty-nine years of age. One may be permitted the thought that another young man approximately the same age went down into the waters of the Jordan, and emerged to receive the blessing of the Father. His spiritual lineage has also stood staunch through the centuries.

In concluding this chapter we may say that the great work of Alexander Mack was accomplished in Germany but six years in America was long enough to impress his character on the life of the mother church. We shall grow in appreciation of Peter Becker, the first elder in America, as we grow in knowledge of the results of his faithful devotion to the church in the hour of great crisis. Elder Christopher Sauer, the heroic sufferer for peace and for conscience' sake, will ever remain as an enduring monument to the cruel inhumanity of war and the astonishing injustice of our government in the confiscation of his property. In the lives of these great and good men, there was a striking self-forgetfulness which would always exalt the cause of Christ and magnify His interests. The fullest embodiment of this spirit was in Alexander Mack himself, and perhaps it found its highest expression in the closing incident of his life, when, as he was also to close his earthly career, he looked forward to the time when his work should fall into other hands. He called his sons to his bedside, and said to them, "Now when I am gone, don't mark my resting-place, or they might sometime want to erect a monument over my grave." In filial respect as dutiful sons, they protested against the idea that their honored father should sleep in a nameless grave. He listened to their appeal, and consented that they might place his initials on his gravestone. But the mere initials, "A. M." were meaningless to the passerby, and in generations to

come even his own descendants lost the grave, and so, for one hundred and fifty-nine years, Alexander Mack slept in a nameless grave. Let us honor not only Alexander Mack, but also the memory of those other men of God, by a faithful devotion of our lives to the cause for which they so nobly stood. They were sturdy men of energy; men of convictions, men of determination to sustain and defend their convictions; devout men, God-fearing, trustful; men of faith, confident in Him whom they believed, Jesus the Christ.

Alexander Mack was a firm believer in the doctrines of the church and would not countenance innovations. However he was a very meek and humble man. His humbleness and meekness did not conceal his great wisdom and understanding of his fellow men. While he never antagonized any one, he held always firm to the faith he loved. He was not easily convinced in regard to any new doctrine, and looked with suspicion upon any new movements, and men at variance with the plain teachings of the Bible. On one occasion it is said that a preacher of unusual eloquence was canvassing the country holding meetings among the Brethren, although he was not a member of the Brethren Church. Finally this man came to the Germantown community. Here he drew a large audience, including many of Bishop Mack's members. They gave such glowing accounts of the eloquent divine that Mack finally consented to hear him. At the close of the meeting Mack on being asked what he thought, answered, "Oh, he might do very well for an army chaplain but not at all for a minister to a peace-loving people. I advise you not even to hear him." Some two weeks after this in Philadelphia a regiment, about to leave for a distant point, wanted a chaplain. The man whom Mack had characterized as suited for such work strangely enough went to the city, applied for the place and was accepted, and went along with the regiment. Thus was Mack's prediction fulfilled to the very letter. The founder of the Church, enabled by wisdom and divine guidance to lay the foundation, has been proved by the centuries as being sound in every way. Time has put the stamp of approval upon his work. The only foundation was the old Book in all its simplicity. When his followers down through the years have followed closely in his footsteps, they have made progress and prospered as a people. When they have departed, innovations and difficulties have invariably followed. Divisions have arisen,

many times upon not what the book said, but what some man thought it said, or some man thought it should have said.

WE WAIT THE DAWN OF PEACE

Sad tidings came from o'er the seas
That he who wrote the poem "Trees",

Did yield his life of priceless store
Upon a battlefield of gore.

A youth that saw the touch of God,
In tree, and flower and lowly sod.

A mind which formed in beauty rare
The thoughts that it was found to share.

But with the passing of the years,
Again grave voices stir our fears;

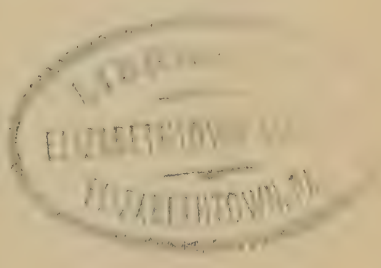
They are the calls to youthful life
To march once more to hellish strife.

Again shall crosses mark the place
Where falls the flower of our race.

The hatreds of our earth increase;
Too long we wait the dawn of peace.

—John Michael Roller.

Commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the death of Joyce Kilmer, killed in France, 1918.



THE ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS TOWARD WAR

ELVERT MILLER

I

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." Thus spake a "strange" young man almost two millenniums ago, and for just about this same length of time pragmatic man has wondered if "strange" is an adjective strong enough to describe this man. Today especially, we who are Christians are faced with the problem—can non-violence, which is the essence of Christ's teachings, meet the aggressive forces which seem to be threatening all we hold good and honorable in our present stage of civilization? The answer must come upon a background of grim reality: Ethiopia ground into subjection; Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland smashed, subdued, exploited and pulverized in an iron hand; brothers killing brothers in Spain; China raped, starved, bombed, and mowed with machine guns; and people in subject nations of older empires striving to find their just place under the sun. Are the teachings of a visionary Nazarene carpenter applicable to such a war-torn society? It is certain that "among the many problems of Christian ethics, the most urgent and challenging at the present day is undoubtedly that of the Christian attitude to war. Christian thought in the past has frequently occupied itself with this problem; but there has never been a time when the weight of it pressed more heavily upon the minds of Christian people than it does today."[1]

There are and always have been a few who have faith that the teachings of Jesus are not idle dreams. It is the purpose of this paper to tell of the earliest acceptance of non-violence as a way of life. I wish to describe how the Christians of the first three centuries, living under the rule of imperial Rome, expressed in writing and in actual living their belief that in truth "The meek shall inherit the earth". It is quite possible that we in the United States, who in the near future may be facing a military machine, may find inspiration and courage in the story of these followers of Christ who scorned the armed might of Rome and sang hymns of praise as the flames seemingly proved that the sword ruleth over all.

1. Cadoux, C. J., *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, p. 3.

II

Before studying the early Christians let us briefly glance at the teachings of Jesus which best show His attitude toward violence. Strange as it may seem, Jesus, as far as we know, never directly condemned the legions of Rome. "For the teachings of Christ in regard to war and the overcoming of evil the chief authorities are the several elements which are contained in the synoptic Gospels, the relevant passages in St. Paul's Epistles and such evidence as can be found elsewhere in the New Testament. His teaching has been too frequently sought only in isolated sayings divorced from their setting and interpreted as legislative enactments. But for Christians who believe that His intention was never legislation, that His character is a consistent whole, and that His authority depends upon the quality of His person and the spirit of His actions rather than upon isolated and edited utterance, it is more important to consider the significance of His crucifixion than to debate particular points, such as the alleged use of the whip in the Temple-market.

"However, in considering the general meaning of Christ the following points are surely indisputable: (1) He regarded God as always and everywhere the Father whose dealings with His creatures are motivated only by love: to assert that God uses alternative methods—love and justice—and that love is not always applicable is to deny that God is what Jesus taught or that He is in any real sense God. (2) In consequence, men are persons, not pawns or slaves, and their freedom to reject must never be overborne by force whether of violence or of bribery or of the supernatural. (3) In presenting His call to His people He refused to admit either by resistance or by flight that the last word lay with armed force: indeed, by accepting the Cross He challenged this common assumption and disproved it. Nonresistance, seeming at first to fail, actually and signally triumphed. His crucifixion transformed His disciples and changed the course of history. The new way of life thus initiated was accepted and proclaimed by the earliest disciples. Love, joy, peace, fortitude were acknowledged as the fruit of Christ's spirit, martyrdom was the Christian answer to militarism: warfare was with the powers of evil—of the spirit not of the flesh."[2]

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2. Huxley, Aldous, *An Encyclopedia of Pacifism*, p. 16.

III

The early Christians were so blessed by their memory of the actual Christ and by the guidance of the Holy Spirit that "no Christian ever thought of enlisting in the army after his conversion until the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A. D.) at the earliest, while cases of men being converted when already engaged in the military profession were during the same period few and far between."[3] "Some indulgence might perhaps be granted to those persons who, before their conversion, were already engaged in such violent and sanguinary occupations, but it was impossible that the Christians, without renouncing a more sacred duty, could assume the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes."[4]

Christian literature during the first two centuries is filled with condemnation of strife and dissension, war and slaughter. "The majority of the early church Fathers, if they refer to the subject, condemn war absolutely as inconsistent with Christianity. Such is the opinion of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, and Lactantius. 'It is not lawful', says Lactantius, 'for a just man to engage in warfare, since his warfare is justice itself'."[5] "Tertullian asks, 'can it be lawful to handle the sword, when the Lord Himself has declared that he who uses the sword shall perish by it'—'the Lord by His disarming of Peter disarmed every soldier from that time forward.' Origen calls Christians the children of peace, who, for the sake of Jesus, never take up the sword against any nation, who fight for thir monarch by praying for him, but who take no part in wars, even though he urge them."[6]

"Harnack enumerates the following ethical barriers in the way of Christians who contemplated service in the army:

1. The shedding of blood on the battlefield.
2. The use of torture in the law courts.
3. The passing of death sentences by officers, and the execution of them by common soldiers.
4. The unconditional military oath.
5. The all-pervading worship of the emperor.
6. The sacrifices in which all were expected to participate.

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3. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
4. Gibbon, Edward, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. 2, p. 119.
5. Inge, W. R., *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems*, p. 317.
6. Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, p. 346.

7. The average behavior of soldiers in peacetime.
8. Other idolatrous and offensive customs."[7]

The early church also adopted unto itself the prophecy of Isaiah and Micah concerning the abolition of war in the Messianic age. "And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob: and He will teach us His ways, and we will walk in His paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among nations, and convict many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning knives; nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."[8]

"This prophecy is quoted, in whole or in part, by a succession of Christian writers, who all urge that it is being fulfilled in the extension of Christianity, the adherents of which are peace-loving people, who do not make war. Thus Justin Martyr quotes it in his Apology and goes on: 'And that this has happened, ye can be persuaded. For from Jerusalem twelve men went out into the world, and these were unlearned, unable to speak; but by the power of God they told every race of men that they had been sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God. And we, who were formerly slayers of one another, not only do not make war upon our enemies but, for the sake of neither lying nor deceiving those who examine us, gladly die confessing Christ.' "[9]

The logical conclusion from the sentiments of these authors, from the fulfillment of the ploughshare prophecy in the birth and growth of the church, and from the duty of loving one's enemies seems to be the refusal to bear arms in order to implement these beliefs. It is probably true that a few Christians were in the army from the very beginnings of Christianity, but, as I have said before, we have no reliable evidence for the presence of Christians in any number in the Roman army before the reign of Marcus Aurelius. "The writings of Tertullian make it abundantly clear that in his time there were considerable numbers of Christians serving in the Roman army."[10] It is also true that the official church never adopted the

7. Page, Kirby, *Jesus or Christianity,* p. 69.
8. Isaiah II:3f, Micah IV:2f.
9. Cadoux, *op. cit.,* p. 61.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 106.

position of complete opposition to war as stated by the early Fathers. The charge might also be brought that the writings of these Fathers do not express the actual thoughts and behavior of the average Christian, but are the expressions of a few who thought and acted far above the masses. However, the heathen philosopher Celsus (178 A. D.) in writing against the Christians argues that "if all did as the Christians, nothing could prevent the Emperor being left alone and deserted and earthly affairs getting into the hands of the lawless and savage barbarians, so that the glory neither of Christianity nor of true wisdom would be left among men."[11]

It seems obvious that the Christian masses are here charged with a refusal to serve in the Emperor's armies. If we turn to Origen's reply to Celsus we see this great thinker justifying the Christian attitude of aloofness from all forms of violence in service of the state. Origen says, "On this supposition" (viz. that all did the same as himself and took no part in war or magistracy), "the Emperor will not be left alone or deserted, nor will the world's affairs fall into the hands of the most lawless and savage barbarians. For if, as Celsus says, all were to do the same as I do, clearly the barbarians also, coming to the world of God, will be most law-abiding and mild; and every religious worship will be abolished, and that alone of the Christians will hold sway; and indeed, one day it shall alone hold sway, the Word ever taking possession of more and more souls."[12]

Thus we see that although the writings of the early church Fathers condemn war and violence Christian soldiers were not unknown. It is quite probable that for the first two centuries these men were in the military life before their conversion. Tertullian's 'De Idolotria' (198-202 A. D.) is the earliest evidence we have for the enlistment in the army of soldiers who were already baptized. There were other ways also in which the early Christians accepted war. There seems to have been an ambiguence of attitude on the part of many Christians, and in attempting to account for this anomalous situation the following facts should be kept in mind:

1. Not many of the earliest Christians actually had to form a definite decision concerning their own personal attitude toward war because Jews and slaves were not enrolled in the

11. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Roman army and because voluntary enlistment usually provided all the soldiers needed.

2. The expectation of a speedy ending of the world was so vivid that many practical social questions were ignored.
3. In the Roman Empire soldiers and police were one and the same, which made it impossible to condemn the profession of soldier without appearing to advocate anarchy.
4. The early Christians accepted the Old Testament as the inspired Word of God. Hence, if they condemned all war it entailed a condemnation of the Israelite wars of conquest.
5. The frequent use of military similes and metaphors must have had a subtle effect on their attitude toward war itself.
6. The Christians hailed the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as God's revenge on the Jews for their crucifixion of Jesus.
7. The appropriation of the Jewish idea of a military Messiah caused the opinion that all enemies of God would be destroyed by Christ at His second coming.
8. Moral laxity within the church by the end of the second century caused a general tendency toward compromise with prevailing beliefs and practices.
9. There is a possibility that the general acceptance of war by the church after the conversion of Constantine made it less likely that records of earlier opposition to war would be preserved.[13]

"It is generally thought that with the accession of Constantine to power, the Church as a whole definitely gave up her anti-militarist leanings, abandoned all her scruples, finally adopted the imperial point of view, and treated the ethical problem involved as a closed question. Allowing for a little exaggeration, this is, broadly speaking, true. The sign of the cross of Jesus was now an imperial military emblem, bringing good fortune and victory. In 314 A. D. the Synod of Arles left military service perfectly free and open to Christians. In 416 A. D. non-Christians were forbidden to serve in the army."[14] Moreover, the writings of St. Augustine definitely settled the theoretical attitude of the church toward war.

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13. Page, Kirby, *Jesus or Christianity.* (Condensed from p. 70 f.)
14. Cadoux, *op. cit.,* p. 256 f.

Augustine used the following arguments:

1. The Lord did not direct the soldiers who were looking for salvation to throw away their sword, but advised them to be content with their wages.
2. St. Peter baptized the centurion Cornelius without exhorting him to give up military life.
3. St. Paul used a strong guard of soldiers.
4. Only those who take the sword without the command or permission of any superior or lawful authority would perish by the sword.
5. Just wars are those waged with a view to obtaining redress for wrongs, or to chastising the undue arrogance of another state.
6. Though peace is our final good, though in the city of God there is peace in eternity, war may sometimes be necessary in this sinful world.[15]

Quoting Augustine again, "It is impossible," he says, "for the government not to use force against murderers and robbers, and it is equally impossible for the state to acquiesce in an unprovoked attack. The real interests even of the aggressor compel us to resist him in the only possible manner. At the same time, an empire founded on injustice is only a band of robbers on a larger scale; and war should always be waged for the sake of peace. The uncompromising injunctions of the Gospels, he says, refer to inner states of the mind, which should always be directed to the good of others."[16] After Augustine a bad conscience was perhaps the only thing which caused some of the clergy to doubt whether a soldier could be a good Christian.

IV

"Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth." For several centuries the followers of Christ professed in word and deed their sincere belief in this statement: "The early Christians took Jesus at His word, and understood His inculcations of gentleness and nonresistance in their literal sense. They closely identified their religion with peace; they strongly condemned war for

15. Westermarck, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
16. Inge, W. R., *op. cit.*, p. 318.

the bloodshed it involved. . . . While a general distrust of ambition and a horror of contamination by idolatry entered largely into the Christian aversion to military service, the sense of the utter contradiction between the work of imprisoning, torturing, wounding, and killing, on the one hand, and the Master's teaching on the other, constituted an equally fatal and conclusive objection."[17]

The passing of time dimmed the early reality of Christ, and the gradual blending of church and state "for the first time in the days of Constantine made the meek and peaceful Jesus become a God of battle, and the cross, the holy sign of Christian redemption, a banner of blood strife. It was a long way from the cross, at the foot of which Roman soldiers had once cast lots for the garments of the Jewish misleader of the people, to the cross which hovered at the head of the Roman legions as a military standard.[18]

We of today as we look back over the history of Christ's Church cannot but lament the fact that the early pacifism disappeared beneath the feet of those Roman legions who followed the cross to victory. If this change had not occurred, what might that history have been: we don't know. 'Tis an idle dream. A dream which may yet come to pass if Christianity today determines that in the twentieth century as well as in the first century, Jesus' way stands in sharp contrast to the method of war, that the perversion of the cross has gone on long enough, and that the real message of that Nazarene carpenter was "Little children love one another". In that day the meek shall come into their own.

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17. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

GLIMPSES FROM EARLY CHURCH RECORDS

F. E. Mallott

No one living is more familiar with the past and present state of the Church of the Brethren in Tennessee than Eld. Reuel B. Pritchett of White Pine, Tennessee. From his extensive collection of early Church records we select the accompanying excerpts from original records of the historic Knob Creek Church.

The records were not written in a book but appear to have been written on odd sheets of tablet paper. The plates are reproduced herewith in full with orthography and spelling. In estimating variations of spelling, one must remember that English spelling was not always as standardized as we are accustomed to see.

Plate 1.

The Brethren of Knob Creek Church met in Church councill To hold an Election in order to advance one to the ministray September the 3th 1859 and the same fell upon Brother Henry Garst

In presents of Brethr
John Nead
Henry Brubaker
Garret Baily

Washington Dove
11111

H. Garst
11111,11111,11111,11

Plate 2.

November the 5th 1859

The Brethren of Knob Creek Church met in Church Councill and there in the fear of god advanced the following Brethren to the office of Deaconds Samuel Miller and Christian Bashore

Done in presents of
John Nead Elder
John Lair
Henry Garst
M. M. Bowman
D. B. Bowmam (sic)

1.

The Brethren of Knob Creek Church met in Church Council to hold an Election in order to advance one to the ministry Agreeable to the 3rd 1859 and the Lot fell upon Brother Henry Garst

Test Brethren of Knob Creek Church

Henry Brubaker
Garret Bucky

Washington Dove — 1111

H Garst — 1111, 1111, 1111, 11

2.

Knob Creek the 5th 1859

The Brethren of Knob Creek Church met in Church Council and there in the Liturgy ~~[illegible]~~ with the following Brethren to the Office of Deacons Samuel Overholt & Christian Bowman

Samuel Overholt — 1111 1111 1111 1111 11

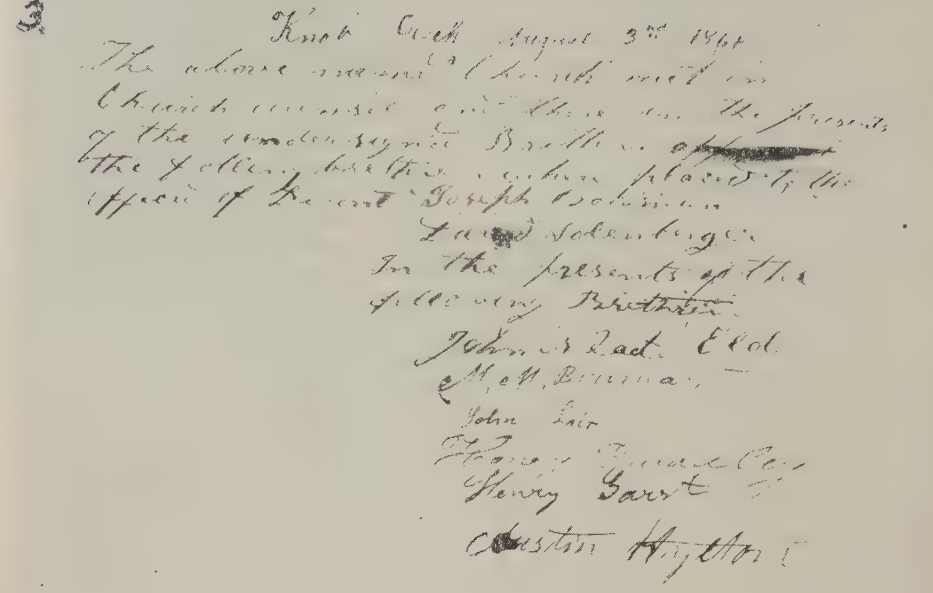
Christian Bowman — 1111 1111 1111 111

Done in presents of
Brethren Elder
John Garst
Henry Garst
H. M. Bowman
D. B. Bowman

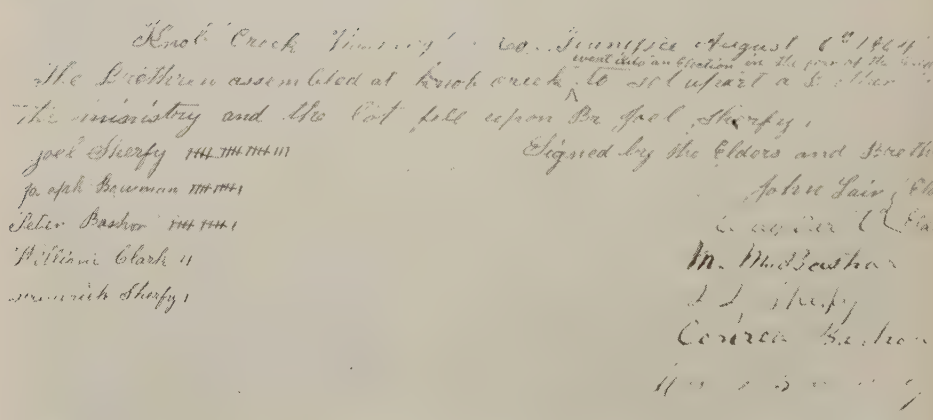
A record of the advancing to the eldership of Elder Henry Garst at Knob Creek Sept. 3, 1859

An election for deacons Nov. 5, 1859

3.



4.



Here is a copy of an election held at the old Knob Creek church Aug. 3, 1861 wherein two deacons were elected and installed.

A record of an election held at Knob Creek 1864 wherein Elder Joel Sherfey was elected as minister with Elders Joseph Bowman and Peter Bashor, close followers who were both later elected and installed into the ministry.

Plate 3.

Knob Creek August 3nd 1861

The above namEd Church met in Church counsil and there in the presents of the undersigned Brethren approved [blot] the folling brethren when placed to the officie of Decont Joseph Bowman

David Solenberger

In the presents of the
Following Brethren
John Nead Eld
M, M, Bowman
John Lair
Henry Swadley
Henry Garst
Austin Hylton

Plate 4.

Knob Creek Washington Co. Tennessee August 6 1864
The Brethren assembled at knob creek went into an election in the fear of the Lord to set apart a Brother to the ministry and the lot fell upon Br Joel Sherfy,
Joel Sherfy 11111,11111,11111,111
Joseph Bowman 11111,11111,1
Peter Bashor 11111,11111,1
William Clark 11
Frederick Sherfy 1

Signed by the Elders and Brethren
John Lair Elder
Henry Garst Elder
M. M., Bashor
S. S. Sherfy
Conrad Bashore
Henry Swadley

These four elections are devoutly recorded. But here comes one of the most interesting items. On the back of Plate 4 is found a church letter. It is not signed so it may have been a draft, copied out tentatively.

Or was it the intention to give to Bro. Joel Sherfy and his wife, Elizabeth, a church letter on the back of the original minute of their election? If so, there is the very quaint circumstance that he would carry along not only the record of his election but the tabulation of the votes and the names of the "also rans."

The church letter is obviously in the same hand as the minute. The fact that it is unsigned rather inclines one to believe it is a draft copied out by an uncertain clerk for approval or practice.

LETTER

Knob Creek August 6th 1864 Washington Co Tennessee

We the Brethren of the Knob Creek send greeting to the Brethren wherever this may be presented inasmuch as our beloved Joel Sherfy and Elizabeth his wife are about to remove our country to yours we hereby inform you that they are members of the Dunkard church in full fellowship with the same

There is a simplicity and a beauty about these ancient records. The language is Biblically flavored and slightly archaic. One has passing thots of the academic attainments of these our fathers in religion. But there can be no doubt but that these were what a certain old European record calls them, "the devout".

With apologies to a well-known source we may say:

Lives of devout men all remind us,
We may make our lives sublime;
And departing leave behind us
Foot-prints on the sands of time.

A QUESTION

I sit and ponder over life,
The floods, the storms, the constant strife.
Of man's behavior in this world;
Of thoughts and fancies all unfurl'd.
Of souls and minds that dwell in hell,
And mankind's great false world that fell.
Of sweating men that work and toil—
Of men who slave and till the soil—
Souls which harden; fall away,
Of eyes blind to the light of day.
Of men who build, create, and mould—
Of greedy men who search for gold.
Of beauty salvaged from the vile—
Of bodies cast upon the pile.
Of men who seek the binding tie—
Of men who search for truth and die.
O Great Father, Eye All-seeing,
What is the purpose of our being?

—Trevor Wyatt Moore.

AN ANALYSIS OF SOME DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES IN THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Robert L. Sherfy

CHAPTER I

THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL

The purpose of this thesis is (1) to discover the "Dunker" Democratic ideal; and (2) to analyze some characteristic "Dunker" procedures, both historic and current, evaluating them in terms of this ideal.

A study in this field is valid. The Dunkers of the nineteenth century seem to have taken democracy or "brotherhood," as they would have called it, for granted as an ideal. In the rural communities where they had common tasks, a common mode of life and a personal acquaintance with each other this was not so hard to incorporate in procedures. Since the turn of the twentieth century, however, Dunkers have been influenced by urbanization. In making adjust-

ment to the complexity of modern life the possibility of loss of the essential democracy of the rural Dunker community is great. Dr. John S. Flory, a student of Dunker history for many years, recently expressed his desire to know whether the Church of the Brethren is losing its democratic ideal and practice. He implied also that many others are concerned but have nothing to help them clarify their thinking. The fact that "Brethren in Reality" was chosen as the special emphasis for the denomination this year would also seem to indicate that a study of the Dunker democratic ideal is timely. There needs to be an understanding of what that ideal is and what its fundamental principles and assumptions are. If that ideal is an essential part of the Dunker doctrine and way of life, it is important that adjustments in procedures and methods should be evaluated in terms of that ideal.

This chapter deals with (1) the essential characteristics of democracy in general, and (2), more specifically, the Dunker democratic ideal.

By way of general definition, Webster's New International Dictionary says concerning democracy:

> The principle or system of government by the people.
>
> ---
>
> Belief in or practice of social equality; disregard for social barriers, as of class; absence of snobbery.
>
> ---
>
> Specifically, and commonly in modern use, a democracy is a representative government where there is equality of rights without hereditary or arbitrary differences in rank or privilege.
>
> ---
>
> Representative democracy includes a system of representation and delegated authority periodically renewed; supreme power is retained by the people.

Bryce agrees with this when he says that democracy means that the will of the majority rules; it is the rule of the many.[1] He speaks of "democratic" as implying a simple, friendly spirit without assumptions of superiority. He gives it the flavor of a moral ideal when he says,

> Democracy is supposed to be the product and guardian both of equality and of Liberty, being so consecrated by its relationship to both these precious possessions as to be almost above criticism.[2]

1. James Bryce, *Modern Democracies,* Vol. I, p. 20.
2. *Loc. cit.*

In giving a general definition of democracy from a political viewpoint Merriam says,

> Democracy is a form of political association in which the general control and direction of the political policy of the commonwealth is habitually determined by the bulk of the community in accordance with appropriate understandings and procedures providing for popular participation and consent.[3]

He adds to the idea of the "rule of the many" the significant idea of "procedures providing for popular participation and consent." He goes on to contrast democracy with other forms of association in which control and direction of the policy of the group are habitually determined by procedures providing for any form of minority control and direction.[4]

The principal assumptions of democracy are important. In essence, this is the way Merriam lists them:[5]

1. The essential dignity of man, the importance of protecting and cultivating his personality on a fraternal rather than a differential principle, and the elimination of special privileges based upon undue emphasis on the human differentials.

2. Confidence in a constant drive toward the perfectibility of mankind.

3. The gains of commonwealths are essentially mass gains and should be diffused through the mass by whom they were created as rapidly as possible. An individual or a few do not make great contributions independently of the group, and, accordingly, the benefits are not reserved for a few but are intentionally diffused to all the "brotherhood."

4. It is desirable that the group have control, in the last analysis, over basic questions of policy and direction, with recognized procedures for the formulation of such controls and their execution. This is essentially the same as consent of the governed.

5. Confidence in the possibility of conscious social change accomplished through the process of consent rather than by the methods of violence.

A good working definition of democracy and a list of its characteristics is given by M. L. Wilson, Under Secretary of Agriculture:

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3. Charles E. Merriam, *The New Democracy and the New Despotism*, p. 11.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 11 ff.

The society can remain consistently democratic in giving its individuals maximum opportunity for development and self-expression on the one hand, and for co-operation and self-organization on the other. Democracy thus becomes broader than a system of government; it becomes a way of life.

Democracy as a way of life may be characterized as including:

First, action based on the will of the majority after the people have had opportunity to inform themselves as to the real facts.

Second, freedom of speech, etc.

Third, stability, order, and avoidance of violence. . . .

Fourth, promotion of a stable but ascending general welfare. . . .

Fifth, belief that there are extraordinary possibilities in both man and nature which . . . can be made manifest only if the individualistic yet co-operative genius of democratic institutions is preserved.

Sixth, joyous faith in a progressive future based on the intelligent and constructive efforts of all the people to serve the general welfare.

Seventh, tolerance and humor which in recognizing the right of all men to be different, smiles understandingly at those who are so different as to be funny.[6]

The assumptions and characteristics of democracy indicate that democracy is as much a matter of spirit and ideal as it is a form of government. Mark Dawber says, "Democracy is first of all a way of life—it determines the form of government."[7] Merriam adds these comments, following his statement of the assumptions of democracy, "The program of democracy follows from its principles"[8] and "If the aim is democratic and the attitude is democratic, prevailingly, the outcome will be democratic."[9] In the January, 1940 issue of *Fortune* an editorial emphasizes the fact that the form of government does not determine democracy. A monarchy may be truly democratic in spirit and outcomes and a republican form of government may disregard the needs and wishes of the majority. This study is attempting to discover the spirit or ideal back of the form of government and its procedures in the Church of the Brethren. It is inaccurate to label a certain type of organization, government, or procedure as democratic without considering the method in which it is used or the attitude which motivates those people using it.

The assumptions and characteristics of democracy, which have already been listed, form the objective standard by which the pro-

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6. M. L. Wilson, *Democracy Has Roots*, pp. 92 ff.
7. Lecture at Bethany Biblical Seminary, February 2, 1940.
8. Merriam, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

cedures, as such, are analyzed for the relative democracy of their methods. A knowledge of the essential spirit or ideal of the Church of the Brethren is necessary to an analysis of its procedures as democratic methods.

An understanding of the fundamental elements common to both Christianity and democracy is essential in discovering the Dunker democratic ideal. The Church of the Brethren has not left record of having set out to be a democracy first of all. What democracy it incorporated within its ideals and way of life was justified and taught on grounds of being Christian or "scriptural." It is necessary to consider how much or what kind of democracy the Christian scriptures and tradition teach.

> What, then, is the relation to democracy of the fundamental ideas of the Gospel? Four ideas are of special significance.
>
> The worth of the individual man is enhanced as a being to whom the Creator has given an immortal soul, and who is the object of His continuing care.
>
> In that Creator's sight the souls of all His human creatures are of like worth. All alike need redemption and are to be redeemed. 'In Christ there is neither barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free.'
>
> Supremely valuable is the inner life of the soul in its relation to the Deity. 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you.'
>
> It is the duty of all God's creatures to love one another, and form thereby a brotherhood of worshippers.
>
> The first of these ideas implies spiritual liberty, the obligation to obey God (who speaks directly to the believer's heart) rather than men. It is freedom of conscience.
>
> The second implies human equality, in respect not of intellectual or moral capacity but of ultimate worth in the eyes of the Creator, and it points to the equal 'right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'
>
> The third idea expressed in those precepts which bid the Christian to live, with a pure heart, in close communion with God, and the fourth which implies the creation of a Christian community, cannot but affect man's attitude to life in the world, and may influence it in one of two ways. Absorption in the inner life may tend to individualism, engendering a quietism or isolated mysticism. On the other hand, the idea of a Christian brotherhood of worship points to the value of the collective life and may dispose men to submission in matters of faith and a merging of their own wills in the will of the community.[10]

A basic teaching of Christianity is the essential worth of each individual. This is essentially the same as one of the basic assumptions of democracy.

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10. Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Democracy is a spirit, not a form of government. It is embedded in intangibles; it consists largely in assumptions, one man about another. . . .

And in our civilization these assumptions are Christian assumptions. . . . The central doctrine of its political system (the U. S.)—the inviolability of the individual—is a doctrine inherited from nineteen hundred years of Christian insistence upon the immortality of the soul.[11]

Vlastos mentions also the Christian motive of service to the group as inherent in true democracy.

What connection has Christian faith with democracy? Our Christian tradition, and perhaps no other, asserts the essential dignity of every man. Every man has dignity as a free moral agent if he affirms in his own personal choice the covenant that makes the common life possible. . . . Justice affirms every man's right to be respected as a man, as an end in himself, never as a mere means to others' ends. Love affirms every man's destiny to find life for himself only as he gives his life in service to the whole community. Democracy has meaning only in so far as that kind of love forms its motive and that kind of justice its goal.[12]

From Christian tradition and the New Testament teachings the Church of the Brethren got its ideal of the equality of all men spiritually. The strength of this influence of Christianity in democracy in general is indicated in these words from Bryce:

If we regard the essential quality of Christianity . . . we shall find its influence to be operative in two respects chiefly. It implanted the conception of a spiritual freedom. . . . The sentence, "We must obey God rather than men," went echoing down the ages, strengthening the heart of many a man accused for his opinions. It created a sentiment of equality between men—all alike sinful beings, yet also all worth saving from the power of sin—which restrained the degrading idolatry of power. . . . The greatest king was a sinner no less than the humblest subject. . . . These ideas which from time to time broke through the crust of monarchical tradition in the Middle Ages, became potent factors among the Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries . . . .[13]

The Church of the Brethren, arising as it did early in the eighteenth century, must have absorbed part of its idea for an emphasis upon man's spiritual freedom and his essential equality with all men from the Protestant movement with its democratic implications. Protestantism had declared principles which were essentially democratic in its revolt against Rome two centuries before. It had grad-

11. "The Church in America," editorial from *Fortune*, 1940.
12. Vlastos, *Christian Faith and Democracy*, p. 26.
13. Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, p. 90.

ually lost the actual practice of many expressions of Christian democracy. For example, the Protestant state churches had adopted coercive methods. But the ideals which had burst into flame and had given hope to the masses were not entirely dead. The fact that the founders of the Church of the Brethren declared as a basic principle that there should be no force or coercion in religion indicates a conscious reaction to the undemocratic procedures of the institutionalized churches. It must be kept in mind that even this teaching with its apparent background of circumstance was founded upon New Testament principles.

The Dunker democratic ideal was clarified and intensified by the complete acceptance of the New Testament as a guide book. An example of a practice which seems to have been a direct outgrowth of the New Testament is the use of the word "Brethren." "The sect came to be known as 'Taufers' or 'Tunkers' because of their mode of baptism, but who at first called themselves simply 'Brethren.' "[14] The relationships which this word signified were accepted as the ideal by the group at Schwarzenau in 1708. Their goal was not the formation of a democracy as such. They were trying to be Christians according to the pattern that they read in the New Testament. It so happens that the "Brotherhood" of the New Testament is first rate democracy. The Dunker democratic ideal and its New Testament background are both evidenced in these words published in 1891:

> The Brethren hold that in the church established by Christ, there are no differences born of human pride. All stand upon a level before God. All are servants and all are masters. In common with all other great principles of Christianity, this has received its corresponding ordinance, illustrative and typical of the fact that humility and religion are inseparable. It is the ordinance of feetwashing, established by our Saviour, and observed as directed by Him, among the Brethren . . . he typically washes his brother's bared feet, as an evidence that he is his servant, and the other his master. The relations are then reversed, and the servant becomes the master, and this rite is performed all over the congregation of the Brethren at love-feast occasions.[15]

There is no easier way of typifying the spirit of the Dunker democratic ideal than to recognize that the word "Brethren" has been the characteristic appellation and accepted form of address among

14. John Lewis Gillin, *The Dunkers,* p. 62.

15. "The Brethren or 'Dunkards'," *Brethren's Family Almanac,* compiled by D. L. Miller, p. 7.

members of the group up to "the day before yesterday." Male members of the group were called "Brother" by their fellow members. It made no difference if one were an average lay member, a deacon or a preacher. Occasionally the term "elder" was used as a title rather than as a descriptive term or an office. This sometimes became an inconsistency with the ideal. Female members were called "Sister." Urbanization has replaced the common "Brother and Sister" with "Dr. and Mrs.," "Mr. and Mrs.," or "Rev. and Mrs." as titles of respect more in keeping with modern life. This has happened too recently for us to know definitely how much of a shift in the Dunker democratic ideal this may indicate. It is also recognized to be only one method of measurement of one expression of social relationships. In thinking of the Dunker democratic ideal the New Testament should be considered the chief basis and the relationship or attitude expressed by the word "Brother" as the typical manifestation.

The form of government which this ideal has resulted in is described thus:

What then is New Testament Church Polity? We answer, It is general—binding all congregations and individual members of Christ's body in one government. It may be called an Ecclesiastical Democracy, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It comprises a combination of forms:

1. It is Democratic in the sense that the highest authority is vested in the membership.
2. It is Republical in the sense that the church chooses representatives to execute her will.
3. It is Congregational in local matters, but general on all questions of doctrine and matters of a general character.

The Church of the Brethren has taken this view of Church Polity because:

. . .

The common people are the best conservators of truth. Left to themselves they rarely get wrong and rarely become divided.

There are two great causes of corruption in the church, viz., Money and Official power, and God has wisely set up that form of government which places the most effectual guard around them.[16]

Government is democratic in the extreme. The membership rules. The congregational activity is practically unlimited. On questions of moment the congregation appeals for guidance to District Meeting, made up of delegates from the respective churches. The District Meetings, may, when the conditions seem to warrant, appeal to the Annual Meeting, the highest tribunal of the church. It is made up of two repre-

16. I. D. Parker, "Church Polity" in *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren*, pp. 161, 162.

sentative bodies; the Standing Committee, composed of one or two delegates from each district, and chosen by the District Meeting; and the delegates chosen from each congregation. The decisions of this Meeting are final.[17]

The Dunker democratic ideal struck a fortunate balance between individual freedom and the importance of group welfare and government. In the very beginning at Schwarzenau the founders of the group had decided that the complete personal freedom to follow mystical leadings regardless of social implications was not good. Individual rights were therefore subordinated in part to the group judgment and welfare. The balance between "individualism" and "groupism" which the Dunker democratic ideal called for was an outgrowth of the fact that both elements are found in the New Testament. The emphasis placed on Matthew XVIII by the Brethren is an example. The Dunker democratic ideal has recognized the sacredness of the soul of each individual and his right to equality as a potential son of God. The same ideal has stressed the validity of the voice of the group when there is "plain Scripture" to back it. An example of this appears in Article I of the Minutes of the 1848 Yearly (Annual) Meeting:

> Whether a private brother has a right to speak in public? Considered, that inasmuch as there is a way appointed in the gospel to enter into the ministry, those who feel an inward desire or call to preach, (. . .) should wait patiently until (God by) the Church sees fit to appoint them to the public ministry. See John's Gospel, 10:12. Heb. 5:4, 5.

The welfare of the group is recognized as being of an importance equal to balance the importance of the right of the individual. The individual member has been expected to accept his obligation to work for the common welfare. According to the ideal, the peace and harmony of the "brotherhood" was important enough that each member on entering the church pledged himself to do all in his power to live in the harmony of the "brotherhood."[18]

One does not understand Dunker democracy until he understands that it is the product of "individualism" balanced by "groupism" with the ideal and pattern of New Testament brotherhood as the accepted standard. This is a fortunate ideal. The balance has saved many excesses. "Individualism when carried to its logical conclusion

17. M. G. Brumbaugh, *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren*, p. 556.
18. Otho Winger, *History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren*, p. 204.

results in anarchy; groupism when carried to its logical conclusion results in syndicalism."[19]

The history of the Christian movement has shown the unfortunate consequences of individualism causing men to regard the welfare of their own souls to the neglect of their social possibilities and duties. Sometimes this seems to have been the result of extreme mysticism. History also records the spiritual tragedy of the gathering of individual worshippers into an organization which builds up a hierarchy sacrificing liberty to orthodoxy or to worldly power or to institutional success. This later tendency caused Voltaire to attack Christianity as "an aggressive and persecuting force, inimical to freedom."[20] The Dunker democratic ideal avoids both extremes in its balancing of one value by the other.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF DUNKER DEMOCRACY

In order to understand the historic Dunker democratic ideal it is necessary to know its background, or the influences which have qualified or determined its essential nature. In the first place, the general background will be considered to discover influences not generally thought of as background for the Dunker democratic ideal. Much of this general background is common to such groups as the Mennonites and Baptists. In the second place, factors which have contributed especially to the Dunker democratic ideal as unique will be considered.

A statement of the general background of the democracy of the Baptist Church is valuable because the influences mentioned are also a part of the general background of the Dunker democratic ideal.

Democracy is the principle and spirit of the Baptists. Claiming to be a New Testament church they rely heavily upon the simplicity and freedom of the apostolic congregation, which goes back to the informality of the synagogue, and in particular to the individualism of Jesus.

In its beginnings the Baptist sect was a political as well as a spiritual protest—the one could not be carried out apart from the other. As Anabaptists, separatists, to stand up for their rights as free men and women they frequently had to resist governmental pressure and therefore be subjected to persecution, and in living up to their denomi-

19. Wilson, *Democracy Has Roots*, p. 196.
20. Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, p. 89.

national principle in the modern world they have been characterized as narrow, peculiar and nonconforming. This all belongs to democracy.[1]

The reference which is made to the synagogue is valid. The early Christian brotherhoods of the New Testament and Christian tradition were much like the synagogue in concepts of government. This was natural because Christianity was a child of Judaism. The democracy of the synagogue rested back upon centuries of preparation in the development of Israel's concepts of man, God, and government. The ancient prophets had declared the rights of every man, even every common man. This was unusual, especially in comparison to the next best concepts of democracy in those ages. Greek democracy gave no place of dignity to the common man. When Ahab recognized the inalienable rights of Naboth, a commoner, it was part of the tradition developed by the Children of Israel; that would not have happened in the court of the king of any other nation, as Jezebel implied. Vlastos says[2] that the Judaistic recognition of the dignity of the average man and his right to justice is an outgrowth of nomadic life with its close-knit community. There the insecurity prevented the accumulation of private property and therefore helped prevent class distinctions. Each individual had responsibility for performing a reasonable service on behalf of the whole community and it in turn recognized its responsibility for his rights. Merriam says[3] that after the thirteenth century A. D. the Old Testament version of the popular establishment of the kingdom of Israel aided in directing attention to the democratic principle in setting up government. The Old Testament and the synagogue are part of the general background of Dunker democracy. The influence comes both through the New Testament patterning after procedures and ideals of Judaism, and through the partial recognition of those ideals in civil life after the Protestant revolt.

Gillin points out that the Dunkers were largely influenced by the circumstances in which they lived. The circumstances and influences affecting the Dunker democratic ideal before the movement left the continent of Europe are worth considering. Brumbaugh says of Abelard, Luther and Erasmus: "These men agreed in one essential principle—*religion must be an appeal to the individual human rea-*

1. Bronk, "The Unfolding of the Democratic Principle in the Denomination," *Minister*, February, 1940.
2. Vlastos, *Christian Faith and Democracy*, pp. 14 ff.
3. Merriam, *The New Democracy and the New Despotism*, p. 51.

son."[4] The wide influence that these men exerted on the thought of Europe is a part of the background of the democratic ideal that had its beginnings at Schwarzenau, Germany early in the eighteenth century.

The Anabaptist movement is listed by Bryce[5] as an early influential proclamation of democratic theories in modern countries. He mentions the Independents of the English Civil War as having been partly influenced by Anabaptist notions. It is clear that Dunker democracy comes from this background also.

The class favoritism of the institutionalized churches of that day had gone to an extreme which aggravated the type of democratic reaction which the Dunkers put into effect.

> The coercion in religion on the part of rulers of European states was what gave birth to the sectarian movement. Coerced classes were just then coming to a consciousness of their rights. The great oppression and domination of our forefathers in Germany made them crave democracy.[6]
>
> The breach between rulers and ruled, feudal lord and serf, pastor and flock was wide. The pastors of the three tolerated churches were generally looked upon as belonging to the upper classes.[7]

Besides the continental influences which helped to shape the Dunker democratic ideal there were influences in colonial America which were effective during the years in which the Dunker ideal was being gradually clarified. "All classes in America felt this liberation from the restraint of long established institutions. Throughout the entire colonial period there was no church official of high rank in America."[8] The atmosphere of freedom, independence and democracy was part of the general background which the Dunkers had in common with other groups of that period.

> The prevailing type of religion in the democratic countries is one which lays a great deal of emphasis on freedom of the individual and relies for unity on fellowship rather than on authority and discipline.[9]

Evidently the Dunker democratic ideal was thoroughly in keeping with the background of circumstances and atmosphere of colonial America.

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4. Brumbaugh, *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren,* p. 19.
5. Bryce, *Modern Democracies,* p. 85.
6. Gillin, *The Dunkers,* p. 15.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 34.
8. William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America,* p. 4.
9. Arthur E. Holt, *This Nation Under God,* p. 7.

There are some factors which have contributed especially to the formation of the unique elements of the Dunker democratic ideal.

The ideal in the minds of the leaders of the movement is important.

> There arose in his (Mack's) mind the ideal of a Christian society that was different from that of the orthodox church, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, from the ideal of the church as a mystical, unorganized fellowship based on the recognition of certain Pietistic teachings concerning conduct.[10]

The leaders were influenced enough by mysticism to declare the essentially democratic teaching of the "priesthood of believers," but their use of the New Testament as a guidebook was literal enough that the importance of the group and its organization as a "brotherhood" resulted in a unique balance between individual liberty and group welfare and authority. This was referred to in the first chapter. There have been many Dunker practices which originally had democratic significance because they were set up by the leaders in conscious contrast to the practice of the orthodox churches of Europe with their ecclesiastical hierarchy and disregard of the rights of the common man. Examples were the placing of ministers on the same floor level with the congregation at public meetings, the prejudice against educated or salaried preachers, kneeling with their backs instead of their faces toward the preacher, a long level table instead of a high pulpit in front of the congregation.

Another factor in the background of the Dunker democratic ideal was the strong democratic tendency in Pennsylvania. It was here that Dunkerism made its home when it came to America while it was still very young.

> This democratic tendency was strongest in Pennsylvania. Most important of all was the attitude of the proprietor himself to his province. No other proprietor set out with such avowed democratic aims as did Penn.[11]

The liberty granted to colonists was one factor in their coming to Pennsylvania but it was of equal significance in influencing their form of church government and the spirit of democracy in their midst. The Dunker democratic ideal was born in Germany but it was reared in Pennsylvania.

Closely related to the fact that the Dunkers struck their roots

10. Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

into the democratic soil of Pennsylvania is the rural cultural pattern of life which the Dunkers followed. Wilson calls it "the democratic old freehold pattern most characteristic of the North."[12] The old freehold farm was a family farm. It carried with it a crude and lusty culture, lacking in manners and polish. Life was shut-in; sometimes it was less candid and reasoning and tolerant. There was always the rugged love of liberty that comes with economic independence. All this is a part of the background of the Dunker democratic ideal and the procedures developed as its mediums of expression.

CHAPTER III

DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE IN THE LOCAL CHURCH

"The local church is the basic unit in the entire church organization."[1] The local church "council meeting" or business meeting is the characteristic historical procedure of local church government. Every local church seems to have used this method in its government. It was universally accepted as the Dunker method of handling local business. In actual practice the significance and procedures of council meeting have been modified to some extent. It is important to evaluate the historic type of council meeting first.

To any one familiar with the Tunker church the prominence of the council meeting need not be discussed. What is usually done by officers of other congregations—the whole business side of the church's activity—is done in the general church councils. These meetings, usually held monthly, in each congregation are not unlike the monthly meetings of the Friends or Quakers, and took their rise no doubt from the practice of the Friends. They are the most democratic meetings held by the church. Every member is not only welcome but urged to be present. Every member has unlimited privileges here to present all questions which may be regarded of value to the members. The whole negative administration of the church is here conducted and every member may discuss at length the rulings of the officers in charge as well as the business presented. . . . The council meeting is a blessed necessity. Its origin dates perhaps with the organization of the church. Business meetings were held as soon as the Germantown church was organized in 1723, and have been conducted ever since. In many of the early congregations these meetings were held at the close of public services on the Lord's Day. But Germantown, the mother church in

12. O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi, M. L. Wilson, *Agriculture in Modern Life*, p. 221.

1. *Minister's Manual*, "Church of the Brethren," p. 27.

America, seems to have held her council meetings upon some Thursday of each month.[2]

It is evident that the attempt at government originally finding expression in the council meeting was about as pure democracy as could be imagined. The meetings were evidently held each month so that every item of business that might come up could come before the whole church. Boards are not mentioned, at least not the kind that took it upon themselves to decide anything without it having been brought up in council meeting. Every member was urged to be present at these council meetings because in a democracy every member is expected to assume his share of responsibility in the decisions of the group. It is also significant that the officer in charge of the meeting was not immune to the possibility of having his decision questioned by any member. The final authority of the officer rested in the approval of the group.

Valuable insights into the historic council meetings are given in the *Brethren's Family Almanac* of 1902:

> The council meetings of the church are among its most important meetings. Much of the spiritual character and tone of the church depends upon the manner in which these councils are held. They may be conducted in a way that they will be of interest to all, or nearly all, of the members; or they may be so badly managed as to become very repulsive to the better class of members. . . . Some elders seem to know about as much about making a council meeting edifying as does a child about managing a locomotive.
>
> One Council Meeting. The officials met about two hours before the time set for the council meeting, in what is sometimes called private council, a name that is very uninviting indeed. In this official council all the matters that were to be discussed and settled by the church were gone over. . . . The members were somewhat warm for having had to wait one and one-half hours for meeting to begin. The meeting was opened, and an exhortation long enough for a funeral sermon was given by the ministers; after this the business was taken up, a battle of words began; it grew on towards evening, the members began to disperse and go home, the elder made loud calls for order (!) and attention. At last with about one-half dozen members present the meeting closed at dusk; the church had been badly crippled, and most of the members wished they might never hear of another council meeting. . . . This is no exaggerated report. It is true to life in some churches; I have been at just such meetings. . . .
>
> Another Council Meeting. The officials met one-half hour before the regular time for the council. In a few minutes all the items of business were arranged in a list without discussion, for discussion belongs

2. Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*, pp. 506 ff.

to the church. At the appointed hour the meeting was opened in an appropriate, brief and spiritual way. The business was disposed of quietly and in a friendly manner. . . . After a very impressive closing service, while **all** were present, the members returned home rejoicing because they had had a pleasant reunion.[3]

It is evident that the democratic ideal was sometimes thwarted as in the case of the first council reported. The whole atmosphere of this article is evidence that the accepted standard for a council meeting among Dunkers at the turn of the century was in harmony with the Dunker democratic ideal. Anyone familiar with Dunker history knows of cases where a domineering elder or a powerful and selfish clique or family prevented the spirit of Christian democracy from finding expression, even in the historic Dunker council meeting with all its procedures intended to promote the Dunker democratic ideal of equality among individuals and the authority of the group.

Procedures followed in voting and elections held at council meeting are relevant to a study of democratic procedures. In the Minutes of Annual Meeting of 1853, Article 44, we find this concerning the method of choosing "teachers and deacons":

> Considered, that a choice should be held by each and every member coming (one by one) before the elders, and giving their voice privately. The presence of two or at least one ordained elder from another church, has been deemed necessary always, so as to avoid the least appearance of partiality.

This method of voting one by one privately before elders from another congregation was a practice intended to avoid all forms of coercion on the individual who was voting. This same method of voting was followed in many important matters. It should be noticed that the individual gave his own choice. It was not a matter of his approval or disapproval of a certain one suggested by the elders, nor was it a matter of his choice from nominations previously made by a committee or the elders. It would be hard to imagine a procedure with any more democratic implications than this.

In connection with this it is interesting to note this in the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of 1862:

> Which is the most advisable in holding council meetings, to ask each individual member for his consent, or to take silence for consent?
>
> Ans. — In all weighty matters it is best for each member to answer.

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3. I. Bennett Trout, "Two Council Meetings" in *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1902, p. 33.

According to the Dunker democratic ideal the social stability of the group was to be built upon cohesion instead of coercion. The spirit of brotherhood was intended to cause the group to be lenient toward minorities, especially if they seemed humble about it and there was no New Testament passage which could be interpreted as proving them to be in the wrong. An example of the practice followed in order to maintain unity was the custom accepted in most churches that a brother should not be forwarded from the ministry to the eldership if there were more than two objectors.

There are democratic implications in the fact that an individual's right to membership in the group was a matter determined by the whole group rather than a single officer or group of officers.

> The privilege of membership is in the hands of the local body. It may discipline its members and its officers and even expel them altogether from membership, although in case of discipline or expulsion, the defendant may appeal either to District Meeting or to Annual Meeting.[4]

The right of the individual is safeguarded against possible injustice of his local group by his right to appeal. It is still a practice that any individual member of any local church may appeal to Standing Committee of Annual Conference if he thinks his case has not been fairly handled by his church or district. This is an example of the way in which the right of the individual and the welfare and authority of the group are balanced in Dunker democratic procedure.

In summarizing these local historic Dunker procedures it appears that their purpose was the carrying out of the Dunker Democratic ideal. Of course the form of procedures was often used in the wrong spirit so that democracy and brotherhood were thwarted.

Modern versions of the historic Dunker procedures are different in many ways from those accepted as customary until the beginning of the twentieth century. In an attempt to ascertain the practices of "Dunker" churches today, students of Bethany Biblical Seminary were asked to fill out questionnaires.[5] Seventy-one questionnaires were filled out. Those filling them out represent thirty-four of the forty-eight districts of the denomination. There were very few cases of two students filling out questionnaires concerning the same local church. It is assumed that these students were well acquainted

4. Winger, *History and Doctrines of the Church of the Brethren,* p. 203.
5. See Appendix for complete questionnaire and summary of answers.

with their home churches, being students in a school for the training of religious leadership. The results of these questionnaires should represent a fair sampling of the way contemporary Dunker youth feel about democracy in their home churches. Certainly these youths were expressing personal opinions in their answers to some questions, but in order to study a democracy one must know how the average member feels about procedures as well as know the statistics and form of organization.

The council meeting is still a form of procedure. In answer to the question: "How often is regular council or business meeting held?" the answers in the questionnaires were: thirty-eight quarterly; twenty-two semi-annually; four annually; four monthly; one every two months. It appears from the questionnaires that much church business is handled outside of council, but no one intimated that council had been or would be done away with. The fact that twenty-two reported council only twice a year and four reported it only once a year seems to indicate that only certain kinds of business come before council. In the old days when council was held every month regularly it seems to have been the custom that everything was decided by the whole church in council. When council is held only twice a year, or even only quarterly, it is evident that many matters can not wait and would need to be decided between councils. In many of the questionnaires it was written in that boards decide many matters.

The average attendance at present day council meetings is small in comparison to the membership of the churches. In the forty-seven rural churches reported on, the average membership is 264.9; the average council meeting attendance is 57.2. Twenty-two and five tenths per cent of the membership of these churches attend council. In the twenty-one city churches reported on, the average membership is 341.4; the average council meeting attendance is 76.6. Twenty-one and two tenths per cent of the city members attend council. From the viewpoint of democracy this is a low per cent of the members taking part in this procedure which presumably requires the voice of every member. It is interesting to note that there is more difference in per cent of members attending council between the large and small churches than between the city and rural churches. Reports came from twenty-one churches having a membership of over three hundred. In these churches 16.9 per cent attend council.

In the forty-eight churches having membership of less than three hundred, 33.4 per cent attend council. In the large churches about one-sixth of the members attend council; in the small ones about one-third attend council.

In answer to the question: "Are things sometimes 'cut and dried' to be 'railroaded' through council?" thirty-seven answered "YES" and twenty-five answered "NO". This would indicate that procedures intended to safeguard democracy in the council meeting are frequently side-stepped in the local church.

Sixty-one answered that elections of church officers were held at regular church council. This is within the historic tradition. Nine answered that elections were not held at council. The reason given by most of these for this, as well as the handling of other matters of business at other times than regular council or business meeting, was that so few of the members were present at council meeting. During or after some regular Sunday service was the time given by twenty-five students in answer to the question, "When is such business handled?" Representatives of some of the larger churches said that council is poorly attended because many members live at some distance or for other reasons find it difficult to attend meetings at the church except on Sunday. For the sake of such people, this would seem to be a wholesome adaptation of the Dunker democratic ideal.

There seem to have been few officers to elect in the early days, with the exception of deacons, ministers and elders. When the whole church met to transact business each month, committees and boards were not needed as they are now, since council does not meet often enough or have time enough to take care of all the promotion activities of the modern church program. Election of officers is an important part of church business now. The total number of positions to be filled on committees and boards in an average Dunker church is surprisingly large. With the rise of more or less complex church organizations has come nominating committees. Fifty questionnaires reported nominating committees in the local church. Fifteen reported none. Thirty-six questionnaires said that the nominating committee made nominations for all officers elected by the church. Fourteen said that the committee did not nominate for all officers. From this it appears that the nominating committee plays a large part in guiding the selection of church officials. One student reports a feel-

ing in his church that the nominating committee virtually dictates who shall be church officers. In this case the elder is said to have advocated that the committee put someone who could not be elected on the ballot with the one preferred by the committee. The outcome is thus relatively certain.

The questionnaires reported fifteen churches with a nominating committee of three members. Thirteen have five members. The other eight reporting had more than five members. As a democratic procedure the nominating committee is a possible source of loss of the Dunker democratic ideal. It is easily misused. The smaller the committee the more undemocratic it is. In the average situation expediency seems to make a nominating committee almost necessary. It becomes increasingly demanded the more complex the church organization is and the larger the church membership is. A nominating committee need not defeat the Dunker democratic ideal if those on the committee consciously attempt to be democratic. An example of a nominating committee which appears to attempt to preserve the Dunker democratic ideal in its procedure was given in one of the questionnaires:[6]

> The nomination committee puts out a blank several Sundays before the council meeting, upon which is space for each member to vote with the name of any of the membership.
>
> These blanks are consulted by the nomination committee and the highest used for the ballot at council meeting.

Recent years have seen the multiplication of administrative boards and committees in the local church. Reactions shown in the questionnaires to these boards are worth noting here:

13. Do average members have a chance to know what the boards and committees of the church do and why? (Ans.: 52, YES; 15, NO)
14. Do boards and committees do things contrary to the known wishes of the majority of the members? (Ans.: 16, YES; 48, NO)
15. Would an average member be justified in feeling that he was expected to support a program, which was planned by a board, without his understanding why? (Ans.: 9, YES; 53, NO)
16. Do committees plan for such things as revivals without consulting the church? (Ans.: 14, YES; 54, NO)
17. Is your church an example of Christian Democracy? (Ans.: 34, YES; 20, NO)

An analysis of local democratic procedure must include a study of the offices of local presiding elder and pastor. Since both elder and pastor come to their positions of leadership through first being

6. Questionnaire number 29, in possession of the writer.

elected to the ministry it is important to see the democratic implications in the procedures of choosing ministers. Morgan Edwards writes this observation of early Dunker practice:

> Every brother is allowed to stand up in the congregation to speak in a way of exhortation and expounding, and when by that means they find a man eminent for knowledge and aptness to teach, they choose him to be a minister . . . giving the right hand of fellowship.[7]

It appears that the procedure in choice of a minister was intended to give any male member of the brotherhood a chance to become a minister. It was often the practice to call for an election of a minister when the need for one arose. Names were not suggested. There was prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the election. This has the democratic implication that the Spirit of God can work through directing the voting of every member who is willing to be guided. Since there were no names suggested to the individual members when they went before the visiting elders to name the one of their number who was their choice for a minister, it appears that this procedure was completely democratic. It may not have been conducted in the right spirit many times, but the procedure itself was certainly in keeping with the Dunker democratic ideal.

The fact that ministers were chosen from among their own number has democratic implications in avoiding the development of a professionalized clergy class. Although Brother A was chosen to be a minister he was still one of their farmer neighbors who was set aside only in that his ability and good life had recommended him to encourage his fellow laborers in the sight of the Lord.

Thirty-four student ministers filled out questionnaires in this study made at Bethany. Ten of this number said they were elected by the members going privately before visiting elders to express their choice. Since most of these men are less than thirty years of age it would seem that this procedure is still practiced. The description which one student gave of his election is valuable as an expression of the continuation of the historic procedure and attitude.

> The church needed a minister, so held an election by going in a back room and voting before two elders—a choice for minister. It fell on me, and I accepted as a call of the church, and not as an inner desire on my part. Since, I have tried to do what is necessary and becoming in the ministry.[8]

7. Morgan Edwards, *History of the Baptists,* Vol. I, Part IV, p. 65.
8. Questionnaire number 7.

The historic procedure in electing a minister was democratic in its emphasis upon the authority of the group. There is a method in use today which allows a man or woman to volunteer for the ministry. This is democratic in that it gives any individual the right to offer himself for the ministry. The group still has the right to say whether he shall be licensed or installed, or not. Of the thirty-four student ministers reporting in the questionnaires, ten said that they volunteered. In several cases it was mentioned that the voting was done by asking for a standing vote of approval of the applicant, either in regular council or during a Sunday service. This last method could easily become undemocratic in that such group voting may easily involve subtle coercion. If a moderator so chose he could easily manipulate things so that the members would vote one way or another, more because of the appearance which an opposing vote would make than because of a definite feeling that it was really the best thing to do.

The office of professional pastor is new enough in the Church of the Brethren that the church has not yet become fully adjusted to it. This study does not attempt to evaluate the effects of a professional ministry on democracy in the church. It is of interest, however, to note answers given in the questionnaires. Twenty-three said their pastor was also the presiding elder of their congregation; forty-one said he was not. In answer to the question "Does your pastor love each individual person for the person's own sake?" forty said, Yes; eight said, No; and six said they did not know. Only fifty-four out of seventy-one answered this question. "Does your pastor use people as means of promoting his own ends?", received fifteen affirmative answers and thirty-six negative answers. It will be noted that many did not answer this one, also. Thirteen said their pastor was partial to influential and important people and forty-two said he was not. One questionnaire paid a high tribute to "a succession of strong, democratic pastors" in overcoming the domination which a few of the elite had exercised in the church for years.[9] Another student tells how his pastor dominates the whole program of the church and is tolerated only for the sake of keeping peace.[10] The office of pastor has possibilities dangerous to Dunker democracy. Much depends upon the men who hold the office.

9. Questionnaire number 28.
10. Questionnaire number 60.

The office of presiding elder of the local congregation has great possibilities for the thwarting of all the democracy intended to be guarded by the other democratic procedures of the church. The office of eldership, or bishop, itself was never intended to spoil the essential equality of all the brethren. In the Minutes of Annual Meeting we find:

> According to the word of our Saviour, (Matt. 18:8) 'One is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren,' there is no difference in the Brotherhood or among bishops but that which a higher age and more wisdom and experience may give.[11]

A minister is made an elder or bishop through the request of his local congregation, that is, where he is a member. Generally the Elders' Meeting of the district sends in representatives to "forward" the brother. A presiding elder is still subject to the wishes of his congregation. As Gillin says[12] they were limited in their activity by their subordination to the church, the fountain of authority. In connection with this we find in the Minutes of Annual Meeting:

> Is it consistent with the Gospel for an elder to forward a brother to baptize who has been chosen to preach?
> Considered, that all power under God is vested in the church, and that therefore the church should be consulted in all such cases.[13]

There are frequent Annual Meeting minutes which show the restrictions of authority which the group placed around the elder as a safeguard. It is very probable that these minutes represent sample cases of reactions of the old Dunker democratic ideal against the abuses of the authority which had been granted to elders.

> In case a bishop commits an error, is it to be overlooked more in him than in another brother in office, or a private member? Considered, that elders that rule well, should be counted worthy of the double honor, and that overseers should not undertake anything of importance without counsel of the church, and if there should be a general complaint of the church against him, he is to acknowledge his fault before the church, like any other member, and should not be spared; for 'if the eye be evil, the whole body shall be full of darkness.'[14]

Gillin comments upon the above ruling by saying, "There was to be no chance for the growth of a hierarchy in that direction. The church was to be supreme."[15]

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11. Annual Meeting Minutes, 1846, Art. 4.
12. Gillin, *The Dunkers*, p. 172.
13. Annual Meeting Minutes, 1853, Art. 4.
14. Annual Meeting Minutes, 1849, Art. 9.
15. Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

Here is another example of Annual Meeting having to curb some official's tendency to assume too much authority:

> When the congregation wishes to act on a matter that is in harmony with the decision of Annual Meeting, and which affects the interests of the church, the official members ought not, and cannot prevent it from coming before the church, and if they do, the congregation has the privilege of calling in adjoining elders to assist.[16]

In 1882 it was decided that an elder should not proceed to any course of action, without consulting the church.

One of the problems of the office of eldership has been that some men have grown more autocratic as they grew older and the local church for one reason or another, submits rather than cause the strife which dethroning a man who is intrenched in office has brought to some churches. There are sometimes economic factors which complicate matters. In some churches the elder has become a prosperous business man or farmer who controls the means of livelihood of numbers of the members of the church. A Bethany student reports:

> Up until last September's election, we have had the misfortune to have for an elder an old man who is quite dictatorial and dominating in policy. Because of his liberal contributions in the form of a church building, etc., he was a point of dissension, one group wishing to return him, the other favoring someone new. . . .[17]

In the student questionnaires ten cases appeared in which the elder seems to have a life-time term of office. Thirty-five reported that the term of office for their elder is one year; eleven said three years. It seems that the Dunker democratic ideal will be safeguarded in the office of elder by a definite term of office of not more than three years. In that case the elder would actually depend upon the membership of the church for his authority.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE IN THE DISTRICT

For more than a century the Dunkers had only the local organization and the Annual Meeting to unify the practices of the local churches. In 1856 Annual Meeting proposed the formation of district meetings. It was suggested that five, six or more adjoining

16. Annual Meeting Minutes, 1879, Art. 10.
17. Questionnaire number 23.

churches should form themselves into a district for the purpose of meeting jointly and settling difficulties, thus lessening the business of the general Yearly or Annual Meeting. Here is a description of present day district organization:

> Local congregations are grouped according to convenience into districts. There are forty-seven districts in the United States, one in Canada. . . .
>
> Each District holds an annual conference usually called the District Meeting. The voting body consists of delegates from the churches, though others attend in large numbers and take part in the discussions. Each church is entitled to two delegates, and churches of over two hundred members may have an extra delegate for each additional two hundred members or fraction thereof (A. M. Minutes, 1912). However Annual Conference in 1924 granted to Districts having a membership of 1,000 or less the privilege to decide the number of delegates to district meeting.
>
> The business docket of District Conference consists chiefly of queries from the churches and Boards, and reports from District organizations. Vacancies are filled and any necessary new appointments are made. The queries from the churches may deal with local, district or national problems. . . . The District Conference also chooses its delegate or delegates for Standing Committee. . . .
>
> The elders present at District Meeting assemble to consider problems involving the best interests of the District. Elders in charge report on conditions in their several congregations. Among problems considered are licensing and ordaining ministers and advancing ministers to the eldership. They also hear grievances whether from a congregation or an individual, suggest solutions, and appoint committees to assist in making adjustments. Any member may come to the elders' meeting for help.[1]

The district is the intermediate organization between the local church and the Annual Meeting. It arose as a matter of expediency when the membership was getting too large and too scattered for any large per cent of them to be able to attend the Annual Meeting. With the increase of number of congregations, the amount of business which needed to be referred to some group larger than the local congregation increased to the point that it was becoming a practical impossibility to care for all such matters at the general Annual Meeting. In setting up the organization of the District Meeting there was a definite modelling after the form of the Annual Meeting. The voting body is made up of representatives elected by the local churches. The basis upon which the number of delegates per church is decided seems to be fair. It is worth noting that dele-

1. Merlin C. Shull and J. E. Miller, *Minister's Manual*, p. 25.

gates do not need to be officers or ministers; lay members actually serve as delegates in some districts as frequently as important local officers. This is in keeping with the Dunker democratic ideal.

The fact that any member may appeal to District Meeting if he feels that his local church has not given him justice indicates the democratic recognition of the rights of the individual.

The relative importance given to the Elders' Meeting of the district indicates an authority given to this body which is frequently exercised in spite of the wishes of the majority of average members affected. The form of procedure seems to be as democratic as a representative system can well be. It is the use which is made of it which determines its relative value as an instrument of democracy. From the questionnaires it would seem that the Dunker democratic ideal is thwarted more in districts and regions than in either the average local church or the Annual Meeting.[2] It also seems evident that this is due in some measure to the domination which one or more leaders exercise in many districts. In answer to the question: "In your home district, is it generally felt that one or more leaders dominate or dictate the district program?" twenty-six answered YES, and thirty-two answered NO. That is almost half who feel that leaders dominate things in the district. The young people's camps are district or regional projects. According to the questionnaires, in less than half of the young people's camps the young people choose their own leaders. One youth reported, concerning one of the larger camps and the method in which camp leaders are chosen, "If you get in good with ———— that is all that matters. He runs that camp."

The problem of district democracy seems to be largely a matter of the district leaders. The district seems to be the place where ambitious leaders can manipulate things to their own ends most easily without being held personally responsible by the mass of average members, as they are in the local church where the average members are more constantly in touch with what is going on. Gillin has something to say regarding the domineering type of leaders which the Dunker church has produced and followed, at least partially. It applies to all procedures of the church because all of them depend upon the attitude of those carrying them into execution whether they will result in the realization of the Dunker democratic ideal or defeat it.

2. See questionnaire number 24 for an example.

The Dunker type of disposition should probably be called domineering. . . . The old man, the wealthy man, the successful man has always been reverenced among them. When once the church has spoken in Annual Meeting, it becomes the duty of every member to render obedience to the decision. When a local congregation has expressed its mind on a matter, it is in bad taste, to say the least, for anyone to question the result. This disposition has played a large part in the history of the denomination. It made possible the imposition of the policy of coercion upon so large a part of the Dunker body for so long a time. It determined the sort of leaders that the Dunker church has produced,—men of the domineering type, who ruled by coercion rather than by their superior mental and moral qualities.[3]

Historically the Dunker democratic procedure has failed to always result in the democracy which would be expected from an analysis of the procedures alone. Gillin says the willingness of the people to be coerced and dominated by the type of leader mentioned above is largely responsible for the cases in which the spirit of the Dunker democratic ideal has been defeated in spite of procedures which logically incorporate that ideal, if put into effect by democratic leaders. "Men of the dominating type, who ruled by coercion rather than by their superior mental and moral qualities" are not as successful in manipulating modern Dunkers as they were twenty-five years ago. Since then the public educational system and the radio have affected the ways of thinking of the average man. This includes Dunkers. During the past quarter century urbanization has affected Dunker life and thought also. These influences may have had some part in disillusioning Dunkers as to the value of leaders of the domineering type. It seems that the nature of district procedure has given the domineering leader more chance in the modern day than other procedures which are more directly connected to the will of "the people."

CHAPTER V

DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE IN THE ANNUAL MEETING

In the eighteenth century when these meetings began they were simply for conference and devotion. "They were not meetings in

3. Gillin, *The Dunkers,* p. 205.

which legislation binding upon all the congregations was passed. At first, they were simply advisory."[1]

The Brethren Family Almanac of 1897 gives this description of the accepted function of the Annual Meetings of that day:

> These Annual Meetings are not legislative but judiciary, and deliberate only on questions sent to the conference by the local churches. Everything is decided by the plain letter of the Gospel, or, in the absence of this, by the spirit of the Gospel. The object of the conference is to unify the faith and practice of the different congregations, and keep them all in line with the plain teachings of the New Testament. The decisions of these meetings are published from year to year and sent to all the churches, that the churches may understand the mind of the conference on the various questions presented for consideration. Each member is expected to comply with these decisions, not because the Annual Meeting says so, but because the decisions thus agreed upon are presumed to set forth the teachings of the Scriptures as they relate to the questions in hand.[2]

The present significance of the General Conference or Annual Meeting is indicated in the "Brethren Ministers' Manual":

> The Church of the Brethren accepts the Bible as the final authority in religion. But in church administration situations constantly arise for which no definite policies are outlined in the Word of God. Someone must determine these policies. In our church this responsibility rests with the members. The highest human authority in our system of government is the general Conference. This Conference meets annually to consider matters affecting the welfare of the whole church. The voting body consists of two sets of delegates, those from the districts, which make up the Standing Committee, and those representing local congregations. All have full liberty to participate in the discussions but only delegates vote.[3]

As the highest authority in the church the Annual Meeting represents a democratic principle. In theory, the voice of Annual Meeting is the voice of all the people, spoken through their representatives. Originally when Annual Meeting was just a big meeting which was attended by a relatively large per cent of the average members it was more truly democratic. When practically all the congregations in America were located relatively close together in Pennsylvania and Maryland there were probably quite a number of representatives from each local church. With the great expansion movement which scattered local churches between the Atlantic and the Pacific came difficulties in attending Annual Meeting. The distance is too

1. Gillin, *The Dunkers,* p. 158.
2. *Brethren's Family Almanac,* 1897, p. 11.
3. *Brethren Ministers' Manual,* p. 13.

great for many churches to feel that they can afford to send delegates. The more prosperous churches may send delegates regardless of where the meeting is held. But small or poor churches seldom send delegates when the meeting is at the other end of the United States. Since each congregation is allowed one delegate and those having more than two hundred members are allowed two delegates we might expect well over a thousand delegates from the 1,021 churches with a membership of 173,783 people. Depending upon where conference is held, the delegate body is actually made up of only about four hundred delegates.[4] In an attempt to be fair to all concerned Annual Meeting is held in a different region each year. There may be no way of having more local churches represented each year, but the fact remains that the delegate body at any one conference does not have voting representatives from a very large per cent of the local churches.

At the 1939 Annual Meeting all the districts had representatives on Standing Committee except three. This is good as compared to church representation. In theory, at least, this district representation partially makes up for poor participation in order to be most effective. Unity of the Brotherhood and general support and participation would seem to be greatly promoted by having more general representation at Annual Meeting. The practice of sending several copies of the Minutes of Annual Meeting to each local church is an effort to keep the members of the local churches in touch with church policies.

The Annual Meeting is "not legislative but judiciary, and deliberates only on questions sent to the conference by the local churches." It does not presume to take the right to propose and legislate upon new matters of business. If an individual member so desires he may present some matter of importance to be discussed and acted upon by his local church. The church may agree to pass the matter to district meeting. If district meeting cannot settle it or it is a matter of general policy which is not within its realm it may pass the matter on to Annual Meeting for decision. The Standing Committee also has the right to introduce business to Annual Meeting. This is logical because the Standing Committee is made up of district rep-

4. *Gospel Messenger*, July 1, 1939, p. 17. During the ten years beginning with 1920 the average number of delegates was 462. The average number of delegates since 1930 has been 382.

resentatives. These methods of presenting business to Annual Meeting seem to be in keeping with the Dunker democratic ideal. This limiting of Annual Meeting to the judiciary function appears to be very wholesome from the standpoint of democracy.

The function of the Standing Committee is significant to this study. Brumbaugh says that the Standing Committee likely arose from a practice in the Zinzendorf synods in Pennsylvania where

> a committee from all the different denominations should hear all questions and decide what ones should be brought before the Synod; and, further, that questions should be considered in the name of the congregation bringing the question and not in the name of the person aggrieved.
>
> These two decisions evidently gave precedent for our Standing Committee and for our manner of sending queries to Annual Meeting.[5]

The Annual Meeting of 1931 passed the following:

1. Duties of the Standing Committee—
(a) The Standing Committee shall appoint the officers of the Annual Conference and members of all Boards and Committees authorized by Annual Conference.
(b) Shall receive all the material for Annual Conference and decide the order of presentation.
(c) Shall place answers to all queries not answered by the Districts from which they come. . . .
(d) Shall consider and determine action on matters of appeal for committees to churches.
(e) Shall receive and review all reports to conference prepared by the General Boards and Committee.
(f) Matters deemed of vital importance to the Brotherhood though not coming through Districts or General Boards may be presented by Standing Committee to the Conference.
(g) A brief report of the conditions of the Districts shall be given to Standing Committee by a delegate from the District and a report of the work of Standing Committee shall be given before the elders of the District and of the Annual Conference to District Meeting.
(h) The Standing Committee is a supervisory body and interested in the work of administration in the entire Brotherhood, therefore, any irregularity or indifference to duty in Districts and churches or any nonfeasance by officials thereof shall receive attention by Standing Committee and the Committee shall attempt to correct such conditions through the organization of District elders.
2. Members of Standing Committee may be elected to serve twice in five years, but not oftener.

The Standing Committee has large authority in the appointment of officers and board members. This is significant because the

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5. Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*, p. 479.

boards have assumed a place of so large importance in the direction and administration of the whole program of the church that their personnel is important. The Standing Committee still has the power to regulate the work of the boards. The only way the average member or local church could introduce a suggested reform in the work or personnel of the boards for general conference decision would be through introducing a query. This is a possible check on the assumption of too much authority but is a rather slow and indirect method of control.

Final authority for the decision of matters of general policy and such other matters as may be included in queries rests with the joint conference of Standing Committee with the delegates from the local churches. Standing Committee members and representatives of local churches each have one vote in this general conference.

The fact that any member of the denomination has a right to appeal to Standing Committee in case he feels he has not been given justice at the hands of his local church or district is an indication of the attempt to keep procedure democratic. An individual did appeal to Standing Committee at the 1939 conference. The moderator and committee appeared to be concerned in handling the case carefully and fairly.

The fact that members of Standing Committee may not be elected to serve oftener than twice in five years is a safeguard to democracy. It tends to result in the participation of a larger number of elders in this important task. It also discourages any possible plan whereby a group might control things in an undemocratic way as a result of holding office continuously for a number of years. The plan which designates that a man can serve as moderator only once in three years is also sound from the viewpoint of democracy.

It is significant that queries cannot be presented for Annual Meeting action by individuals. Queries must be presented in the name of the congregation. This is an example of the balancing between individual right and group judgment.

From time to time various checks have been set up in an attempt, apparently to safeguard democracy. Here are some of the rules set down in Article I, of the Minutes of the Annual Meeting of 1890, concerning procedure in the general conference:

4. No brother shall have the privilege of making more than two

speeches on the same subject, except by consent of the meeting, and the first shall not be longer than fifteen, and the last than five minutes.

8. The moderator shall decide when the discussion on each subject shall close, and when the question shall be put on its final passage. But if objection is made to his ruling, then the Standing Committee must unite with him in deciding the matter.

10. No question shall be put on its passage before the delegate presenting the question may have an opportunity to explain it.

12. All members present shall have the right to participate in the discussion of all questions before the meeting: and in case any query or queries cannot pass by unanimous consent, the delegates and Standing Committee shall decide them by a two-thirds majority.

The procedures of Annual Meeting are for the most part in keeping with the Dunker democratic ideal. As is always the case, the form of procedure does not make a thing democratic if there is not a democratic spirit motivating the participants. Whether it is intentionally kept that way or not, is not for this study to determine, but the lack of average member understanding of why and how conference or some conference-approved board or committee does things hinders the realization of the democracy which the procedures were set up to make possible. The attitude of many well meaning leaders is that Standing Committee and the boards do everything important and the other functions of Annual Meeting are for fellowship and inspiration. If this spirit is or becomes general it renders the otherwise democratic procedures of Annual Meeting ineffective. It would seem to be wholesome for the democracy of Annual Meeting if the delegate body would declare its authority by refusing to approve of some appointment made by Standing Committee. If this is not a possibility, Annual Meeting becomes a farce as a democratic procedure expressing the desire of "the people." From the standpoint of democracy, more local churches should be represented in the delegate body of every Annual Conference.

CHAPTER VI

SOME OBSERVATIONS

In analyzing the form of procedure in local, district, and general church government the conclusion has been, for the most part, that the form of procedure which is recognized as being accepted and customary in the Church of the Brethren is in keeping with the Dunker democratic ideal. The form has not changed materially, but

how about the usage? Although an objective analysis of church polity does not show the spirit and attitudes in which the rules are practiced, it is understood that the prevailing spirit and the attitudes of the leaders and the average members is equally significant in ascertaining the real democracy of contemporary church procedures. A very real danger in the Church of the Brethren is that the forms of democracy in procedure will be preserved because they are precious to the masses while the appearance of democracy which the forms give is used for a cloak to cover undemocratic usage of the forms. Of course such action will be easily rationalized and justified by the ambitious and perhaps well meaning souls who advocate it. The danger of loss of perspective on why Dunker procedures are as they are is a real one.

> When new organizations first get under way there is a natural enthusiasm about their mission which carries them a long way forward with splendid vigor. . . .
>
> But all this becomes decreasingly true as organizations increase in size, in age, and in prestige. Hardening of the arteries is a danger of the middle years which can only be withstood as organization leaders give special thought to the problems which age brings. Over-centralized authority, confused responsibility, a sense of vested rights in jobs, lessened clarity and earnestness about the central aim, the burden of a heavy overhead, the utilization of elaborate plant equipment, the dwindling interest of financial supporters—all these and other complexities grow up. . . .[1]

If the above mentioned tendencies are to be averted it is necessary to keep a clear perspective on the real purpose of the church. With the great urbanization movement in America and the industrialization of modern life has come the institutionalization of the pioneer American church, including the Church of the Brethren. With the coming of professional pastors in the local church, field men in the district, and directors, secretaries, managers and whatnots in the general church administration comes the tendency to build and maintain a great institution for its own sake. It is understood, of course, that organization, procedures and trained leaders are necessary in the modern church.

> Yet in spite of necessary mechanism the church must be a brotherhood. The church . . . can become a brotherhood only by the subordination of necessary ecclesiastical mechanisms to the brotherly spirit. It is the task of present-day Christianity to make the church a brother-

1. Ordway Tead, *Creative Management*, p. 7.

hood . . . by gaining an understanding of the old and by subordinating the 'letter which killeth' to the 'spirit which maketh alive.'[2]

The purpose of the church needs to be redefined if the Church of the Brethren is to be the means of promoting either Democracy in the Christian form of Brotherhood or the kind of Christianity which will be effective because of the individual's experiences of participation in creative living within a brotherhood. From the viewpoint of this study, the purpose of the church might well be defined in keeping with the Dunker democratic ideal. That ideal emphasizes two things: 1. the value of the individual person and his right to liberty in following the guidance of the voice of God in his own heart; 2. the welfare and authority of the group. The first implies that an individual is an end in himself, not a means to an end. The second implies the importance of fellowship and brotherhood within the social group. As has been shown, these two elements serve as admirable checks, one on the other. Of course, neither of these taken in a narrow sense will give the church any purpose beyond its own group. If we were to say that the large purpose of the church is to redeem individuals and society, we would come back to the Dunker democratic ideal and say that in order to do society as a whole any lasting good an intimate fellowship and brotherhood must be built up within the framework of the Dunker democracy. The larger mission of being "the light of the world" makes it essential that the light be kept alive within the group. This necessitates equality, fellowship and brotherhood on the one hand, and the maintenance of the rights of the individual personality as sacred on the other. The group will never do society much real good if the individual is disregarded in the process. The processes of a Dunker democracy should always and at all points express brotherhood and fellowship on the basis of the recognition of personality values.

In Christian democracy the participation of the average individual in the formation of the policies of the group is essential. That is the essence of democracy. The Dunker democratic ideal would lead us to conclude that this is the method whereby individuals grow in Christian character.

In a Democracy, each person has a share in the responsibility for deciding what is to be done, not just to follow commands. Helping to decide is hard work. But we believe that children cannot grow up

2. Arthur E. Holt, *This Nation Under God*, p. 129.

unless they are allowed to make decisions and take the consequences. In the same way, we believe that you and I, . . . will be better men and women if we do our thinking for ourselves.

The best government is the one that gets the most thoughtful help from all its citizens because such a government will give every man a chance to grow into the best man he is capable of being.[3]

The rise of boards and committees has been in the name of efficiency. There is no doubt but that the smoothly running church organization is considered to be efficient since many Americans have come to consider a big institution with many activities running along like clock work as a real mark of church success. The smoothness with which some churches run is as likely to be a sign of highly coordinated and well oiled machinery as it is that the church is meeting the needs of individual members and promoting a brotherhood that goes deeper than easy and respectable sociability. If an important half of the purpose of the church is the development of Christian character in individuals then the processes of participation whereby the individual develops Christian character are a truer test of a church organization's effectiveness than the smooth promotion of a large and "successful" institution. The Church of the Brethren does not rapidly change customary procedures but it has rapidly absorbed the attitudes of the contemporary urbanization and industrialization movement. This makes the danger of loss of the scale of values of the Dunker democratic ideal very real. We are likely to mistake the form of democratic procedure, which we perpetuate, for the presence of true Christian democracy.

The matter of average member participation is very important. It is necessary to the individual's development and, in the long run, it is necessary to average member support of the church. "The day is past when adults can be coerced into supporting enterprises whose value is not apparent."[4] One of the great advantages of the old time council meeting, which went over every matter of church business, was the fact that the large majority of the members understood what decisions were made, why, and how. They also must have felt that they all had a part in determining policies and plans. It would seem logical that such participation in policy and program planning would result in far greater enthusiasm in support of a church program than many modern churches, which are virtually run by the of-

3. Lyman Bryson, *Which Way America?*
4. Earl F. Zigler, *Toward Understanding Adults,* p. 110.

ficers and boards, are able to work up. One of the Bethany students gives this comparison between two churches in which she has lived and worked:

> . . . at First Church of X——, I was especially impressed by the wide difference between the churches in general. X—— is highly organized. Many people are active—but there are many people who take no interest whatsoever. At Y——, the church is not highly organized but all the people are interested.[5]

Fellowship of the right kind is extremely important to the realization of the Dunker democratic ideal. Holt characterizes a democratic religion as one "which lays a great deal of emphasis upon freedom of the individual and relies for unity on fellowship rather than on authority and discipline."[6] In a democracy unity is built upon cohesion, not coercion. In the small rural church where there were no social class distinctions and where all the members followed the same general vocational pattern of life, the problem of cohesion was not as difficult as it is in the average church of any size today. Urbanization and the specializations of industrialized society have scattered the membership of the average church geographically; but much more serious is the scattering in social, educational and vocational lines. Mark Dawber says that democracy depends upon community of interests; he says that people need to work, play, and live together in order to have enough understanding of each other and enough of a feeling of community of interests to have a basis for the development of unity or cohesion. M. L. Wilson, Under Secretary of Agriculture says:

> In a society where the citizens are insensible to one another's feelings and problems, democracy becomes impossible: comradeship, fellowship, friendship, even citizenship cease to be realities. And most people, once they come to believe that they are living in a culture from which unity has departed, will desert that situation for any other which convincingly claims to restore the tribal sense of friendliness and comradeship in the world.[7]

In the past, Brethren helped each other when they moved, threshed, built a house or barn, or husked corn. Dan West says of this:

> It seemed the natural and sensible thing to do. It was not always called religious, but it helped to build brotherhood and so was basically religious.

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5. Questionnaire number 20.
6. Holt, *op. cit.*
7. Wilson, *Democracy Has Roots,* p. 461.

In some places this old custom still exists, but in most places it is gone. The fellowship that comes from direct help has lessened until some church members feel closer to some persons outside the church than they do to many of their own brethren and sisters.[8]

The modern church must have the modern equivalent of this kind of basis for real brotherhood. Fellowship suppers and fellowship groups are not enough. The traditional fellowship after meeting at the rural Dunker church did not just happen. It was built on the community of interests which go with living, working and playing together. To superimpose the niceties of sociability on the modern First Church of the Brethren of a modern city is a sad and hollow caricature of the genuine fellowship and brotherhood which is an outgrowth of the sharing of mutual woes and burdens, joys and interests.

One Bethany student wrote in answer to the question of why the active members of her home church do not know each other personally: "They are not thrown together except on Sundays and no time for getting acquainted."[9] If there is to be real brotherhood something must be done about this. Many churches are obviously too big for all the members to be even acquainted personally with all the other members, at least under the present system. So long as the big institution is more important than the development of the character and personality of the average individual Christian, we will continue to glorify the big church instead of consciously keeping in mind the possibility of greater participation and growth of personality in the smaller churches.

Another modern condition which may hinder the realization of the Dunker democratic ideal is indicated by this quotation from *The Story of Religion in America*:

> The great popular churches, which had achieved such phenomenal success in following population westward, and which had been proud to be known as poor men's churches, were rapidly being transformed into churches of the upper middle class.[10]
>
> . . .
>
> As the great denominations came more and more to be controlled by business methods, and dominated by men of wealth; as the services tended to become more formal and as ministers and choirs donned their robes, and cushions were placed on the pews, people of limited

8. Dan West, *The Coming Brotherhood*, p. 14.
9. Questionnaire number 47.
10. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, p. 496.

means began to feel more and more out of place and complaints began to be raised that 'heart religion' was disappearing.[11]

Class distinction makes real brotherhood and democracy impossible in some modern Dunker churches. The virtual elimination of the poor from the church is entirely contrary to the Dunker democratic ideal. In theory, everybody is welcome. In practice, some churches affiliated with the Church of the Brethren are more overjoyed with the occasional attendance and half hearted support of "professional" and "important" people than with the possibilities of rebuilding the life of a poor man, who really hungers for fellowship and righteousness, by making him one of their intimate brotherhood.

The attitudes of the leaders have a lot to do with democracy. The attitude which the people have toward their leaders is almost equally important. One of the things that looks worst for the future of democracy in the Church of the Brethren is the fact that the average members of the average churches do not know how the denomination or local church is governed and seem not to care. Therefore the leaders who are entrusted with the responsibilities of running the church need to be very careful to seek to keep in touch with the desires and needs of the average people and to serve them rather than use them. In *Christian Faith and Democracy,* Vlastos says:

> I do not know any idea in history that is more revolutionary than this idea that Jesus taught and lived: that the measure of human greatness is not one's ability to dominate, but one's ability to serve . . . . The feeble and faltering extent to which we have accepted it is the measure of our democracy.[12]

We have already observed that some Dunker leaders have been of the domineering type. Some modern ones have adopted more subtle methods of domination. Some seem to feel that they were chosen of God to do good to and for people; their condescending air is the odious mark of having never risen to the heights of the Dunker democratic ideal. The leader-follower relation needs to be elevated to one of more genuine partnership. Instead of feeling that they are "being done good to"[13] average people should be helped to grow,

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11. *Ibid.,* p. 506.
12. Vlastos, *Christian Faith and Democracy,* p. 25.
13. Tead, *op. cit.,* p. 12.

through participation in an atmosphere of reciprocal and mutual fellowship.

APPENDIX

This is a copy of the complete questionnaire which was given to Bethany students. The answers which can be easily tabulated and summarized are given following the questions.

Questionnaire on Democratic Spirit and Procedure in the CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Name — Home church — Its Membership

Is it a rural church?

Ans. — 49, Yes; 22, No.

What is your church district?

Ans. — Reports from 34 districts.

1. What is the approximate average attendance at church council meeting?

Ans. — Rural (47 churches)

Average membership	254.9
Average council attendance	57.2
Per cent of membership attending council	22.5
City (21 churches)	
Average membership	341.4
Average council attendance	76.6
Per cent of membership attending council	21.2
Churches of three hundred members and over (21 churches)	
Average membership	536.7
Average council attendance	91.2
Per cent of membership attending council	16.9
Churches under three hundred (48 churches)	
Average membership	147.7
Average council attendance	49.4
Per cent of members attending council	33.4

2. How often is regular council or business meeting held?

Ans. — 4 monthly; 1 bi-monthly; 38 quarterly; 22 semiannually; 4 annually.

3. Are things sometimes "cut and dried" to be "railroaded" thru council?
Ans. — 37, Yes; 25, No.

4. Are elections of church officers held at regular church council?
Ans. — 61, Yes; 9, No.

5. If not, when are they held? Why?

6. Are matters of business for the whole church regularly handled at other times than at regular church council?

7. If so, when is it done? Why, then?

8. Does your church have a nominating committee?
Ans. — 50, Yes; 15, No.
How many members?
Ans. — 15 have 3; 13 have 5; 8 have 6 or more.

9. Does it make nominations for all officers elected by the church?
Ans. — 36, Yes; 14, No.

10. Are members given the opportunity to make additional nominations to those of the committee, or to write in their own choice?
Ans. — 52, Yes; 5, No.

11. Are any officers or delegates chosen by each individual writing the name of his choice on his ballot without any suggestions?
Ans. — 33, Yes; 29, No.

12. Is it a rule in your church that one person must always have a majority of all votes cast in order to be elected?
Ans. — 39, Yes; 27, No.

13. Do average members have a chance to know what the boards and committees of the church do and why?
Ans. — 52, Yes; 15, No.

14. Do boards and committees do things contrary to the known wishes of the majority of the members?
Ans. — 16, Yes; 48, No.

15. Would an average member be justified in feeling that he was expected to support a program which was planned by a board without his understanding why?
Ans. — 9, Yes; 53, No.

16. Do committees plan for such things as revivals without consulting the church?
Ans. — 14, Yes; 54, No.

17. Is your church an example of Christian democracy?
Ans. — 34, Yes; 20, No.

18. What is the term of office for the elder of your church?
Ans. — 35, one year; 11, three years; 10, lifetime or indefinite.

19. Are nominations made for the election of elder?
Ans. — 32, Yes; 24, No.
By whom?

20. Does the elder who is in office conduct the election of an elder?
Ans. — 18, Yes; 37, No.

21. Does your elder unreasonably overrule or otherwise take advantage of the majority of the church members and their desires?
Ans. — 13, Yes; 56, No.

22. Is your pastor also the elder of your congregation?
Ans. — 23, Yes; 41, No.

23. Does your pastor love each individual person for the person's own sake?
Ans. — 40, Yes; 8, No; 6 put a?

24. Does your pastor use people as a means of promoting his own ends?
Ans. — 15, Yes; 36, No; 3 were uncertain.

25. Is he partial to influential and important people?
Ans. — 13, Yes; 42, No.

26. In your home district, is it generally felt that one or more leaders dominate or dictate the district program?
Ans. — 26, Yes; 32, No.

27. Is your summer camp program so dominated?
Ans. — 17, Yes; 36, No.

28. Do the young people run the young people's camp?
Ans. — 35, Yes; 21, No.

29. Are the young people's camp leaders chosen by young people?
Ans. — 22, Yes; 26, No.

30. Does your church have a family feeling which includes all the active members?
Ans. — 45, Yes; 19, No.

31. Are there definitely recognized cliques in your church?
Ans. — 39, Yes; 23, No.

32. Are there occasions when your whole church family gets together informally to work or play?
Ans. — 43, Yes; 12, No.

33. If so, how often? If not, would it be possible?

34. Do all the active members of the church know each other personally?
Ans. — 58, Yes; 11, No.

35. If not, why not?

36. Do you feel that it is necessary to have "pull" in order to have a fair chance to earn recognition in the Church of the Brethren?
Ans. — 17, Yes; 45, No.

37. If you are a minister describe how you were elected.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The Annual Business Meeting of the Alexander Mack Historical Society was called to order at 4:00 P. M., May 25, 1940. It was held in the office of the Correspondence-Study Department.

One of the first items of business was to call attention to the fact that the Tentative Constitution presented in 1939 was to become in full effect at this business meeting. No amendments having been presented, on motion and vote the constitution was declared valid and in force. (See Vol. I, No. 1.)

One meeting of the Executive Committee was held during the year, of date April 8, 1940. They had appointed Ira Scrogum and Merlin Garber as Nominating Committee.

The report of the Nominating Committee showed the first annual ballot had resulted in the following staff of officers:

President—F. E. Mallott
Vice President—Elgin Moyer
Secretary Treasurer—Ruth B. Mallott
Members of the Executive Committee:
S. Earl Mitchell
Ira D. Scrogum

A discussion of the probabilities of Mr. Scrogum's residence during the ensuing year resulted in the choice by the meeting of Mrs. David Wieand to serve as Mr. Scrogum's alternate on the Executive Committee.

The Meeting approved the action of the Executive Committee in accepting the offer of Mr. Will Judy, of the Judy Publishing Co., to sponsor a Prize Essay Contest. The Contest was discussed, enthusiastically.

The Executive Committee recommended several persons for voting membership in the Society for the year 1940-1941. After discussion the following persons were declared the first official list of members of the Society.

F. E. Mallott	Roland Showalter
E. S. Moyer	Chalmer Faw
Ira Scrogum	Susie Thomas
L. D. Rose	W. H. Miley
Russell West	Ruth B. Mallott
Will Judy	Sam Harley
Earl Mitchell	Robert Strickler
David Wieand	Elizabeth Wieand
Merlin Garber	Loren Bowman

It was decided that some communication from each Voting Member must be received during the year, or at the option of the Executive Committee the name might be dropped in the annual revision.

At present it seems that the Seminary is the best place for the Annual Business Meeting. The sentiment was for some other time than Commencement Week. Adjournment.

Secretary, Ruth B. Mallott.

BOOK REVIEW

Christian Education and the Alcohol Problem—John Funk Locke, The National S. S. Association of the Brethren Church, Ashland, Ohio. pp. 132, $.50.

However to be accounted for I confess that speeches and books concerning alcohol make me tired. Perhaps it is the feeling of futility growing out of the failure of National Prohibition and the slowness of the Church to develop any alternative. We have had a great deal of generalized exhortation that we must educate. But most of the exhortation is too generalized to point to any action.

But here is a small book that does educate. It is the storehouse of information, up-to-date statistics, authoritative quotations and relevant reasoning which every minister and public speaker ought to have at his disposal. To quote from the Foreword, "This book is sent forth in the hope that it may stimulate intelligent thot and action among parents, pastors, young people and their leaders, in fact, all those whose task it is to help the rising generation to reach a Christian solution of the problem presented by alcoholic drinks."

After reading a few pages that "tired feeling" disappears. This book is readable and impresses one with its authority. "Some parts of it were written under the supervision of Dean Luther Allen Weigle of the Divinity School of Yale University. Other sections first took form as lectures and sermons."

The historical chapter giving the story of the temperance movement in the U. S. is the best short sketch of its kind, I have ever seen.

It is instructive to hear Governor Dutton of Connecticut explaining in 1865 why the state prohibition law of 1854 was a failure. It sounds like a discussion of the national situation in 1935. "Someone has cynically remarked that all we ever learn from history, is that we never learn anything from history. But there are those who do learn something. They are the salt of the earth and to them is addressed this discussion of Christian Education and the Alcohol Problem."

There is no good stopping place after one has begun to quote. This is the second book issued under the sponsorship of the National Sunday School Association of the Brethren Church. This series promised to make a genuine contribution to adult education.

The book is crammed full of interesting facts and significant quotations. In its pages we find Aristotle's dictum, "The fate of Empires depends on the education of youth." Here are statements on the alcohol question by a number of American presidents. Lincoln is quoted extensively. The best analysis of the economic effects of Prohibition was made by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. What are the facts concerning alcohol and longevity? British and American life insurance companies have studied the matter and made their findings public. While alcohol is being abolished as a beverage, it is becoming of increasing importance as an industrial product. It may be the next century will be the Alcohol Age and that the rank vegetable growth of the tropics, will become one of our most indispensable sources of

industrial alcohol. The word alcohol is derived from an Arabic word meaning "the subtle". And so it goes on.

I will commend it to the readers of this review by saying that it was one of the books I have been looking for. In conclusion I present one of its ideas in a quotation from page 82, "The day has passed for the Church to assert that she fights drink for the sake of youth. The day has come for the Church to call youth to fight drink for the sake of the community and the ideal society. Such a call must be positive. It must be practical, for the normal youth thinks concretely."

—F. E. Mallott.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

This number closes Volume II of Schwarzenau. Ninety per cent of our subscriptions expire with this issue. It must needs be so, as our bookkeeping must be kept very simple.

The other ten per cent of our subscribing membership have already sent in subscriptions for Volume III.

This marks another double number. Volume II consists of three numbers. We are absorbing the July number (which on a quarterly basis would be the first issue of Volume III) into the last number of Volume II.

We believe we can say with confidence to our readers that Volume III will also consist of three numbers.

It will be necessary to have the full number of four hundred Subscribing Members of the Society at one dollar ($1.00) per annum before we can stay on a quarterly basis. The deficit of our first year of publication was too large to be repeated annually.

We have received many kind words which encourage us to proceed with an historical journal. We wonder sometimes why we do not have more Gift Subscriptions. If all who sincerely in intention support our efforts would enlist one other Subscriber (by Gift if necessary) the future of our journal would be assured.

The attached slip is for your convenience. Remember we have no resources save the support of those who believe in the desirability of a Journal of Dunker history.

Finally—whoever heard of a semiannual journal which issued three numbers in the year?

The Schwarzenau Prize Essay contest, sponsored by Mr. Will Judy of the Judy Publishing Company, closed April 30. The results will be announced in our next issue—in which we hope to present some of the results of the Contest for our readers' perusal.

Why not subscribe for two years while sending in your subscription dollar?

We still have a few sets of complete back-numbers of Schwarzenau. They are being sold at regular subscription rates while they last.

We are proud of the contents of this number. We present the first article of an historico-doctrinal character in the article on the "Agape or Love-feast." We welcome this as our leader for this number.

THE AGAPE OR LOVE-FEAST

John D. Long

The purpose of this paper is to make a brief study of the love-feast as practiced in the Church of the Brethren. The study will be divided into three parts: First, the meaning and symbolical values of the agape. Second, the historical background in the New Testament which the Brethren used as the basis for their observance. Third, some present practices in observing the love-feast in various churches of the Brethren today, based largely on 127 questionnaires which were filled out by ministers in different parts of the brotherhood.

I. *Meaning and Symbolical Values*

The word "agape" is the Greek term for love, used by ecclesiastical writers to signify the social feasts of friendship, love and kindness in use among primitive Christians. It is very probable they were instituted in memory of the last supper of Jesus with His disciples which supper was concluded before the institution of the Eucharist.

These feasts tended to unify the group and meant brotherhood in the real sense. "Rich and poor, master and slave, sat together at one table merging all distinctions of rank in fraternal union and fel-

lowship. The feast began and closed with thanksgiving and song. The poor and widows and orphans were the chief partakers of the Agape. All these worthy recipients ate from the common dish."[1]

It is probable that the agape referred to a full meal and was something additional to the bread and wine of the eucharist. John (13:2) and Paul (I Cor. 11:20) refer to it as the Lord's Supper, using the Greek word *deipnos* which ordinarily meant a full evening meal. This word is always translated "feast" or "supper" when used elsewhere in the Gospels. "Not only does the term mean a supper, a full evening meal, but it is distinctly stated that it is not to be identified with the eucharistic emblems, for we read 'as they were yet eating Jesus took bread and blessed it.' They had been eating during that long discourse. Paul describes the institution of the eucharist 'after supper.' I Cor. 11:25. Moreover, it is not the bread and wine alone that are spoken of as sacred, but the supper is called 'the Lord's Supper.' The supper itself is an institution of the Lord as well as the emblems after it."[2]

The word for love, *agape,* used over 100 times in the New Testament, came to refer to the feast of love which the early Christians practiced. "There can be no doubt that the common meals of the primitive Christians and the table fellowship which the Corinthian Church abused, answer to the later agape. A new name was given to what was really a new thing, for there is nothing elsewhere like the spirit of love which called into existence and pervaded the common intercourse of brotherhood. The occasion for the origin of the name may be found in John 13:16 though the technical term probably did not come into use till long after the brethren had been enjoying the reality."[3]

The church of the Brethren has always found in the love-feast certain symbolical values and taught that Jesus meant for His disciples to see in it a religious significance. They regarded the love-feast as a symbol, a memorial, an emblem that stood for something greater. A flag is of little value if one considers it to be only cheap muslin or even colored silk, but if one sees that it symbolizes a great nation, it takes on significance and inspires patriotic zeal. The badges or buttons, flashing the names of favorite candidates, that

1. *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Vol. 1, p. 230.
2. Yoder, *God's Means of Grace,* p. 361.
3. *The Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*

patriotic citizens wear in their coat lapels prior to election mean little or nothing in themselves. But back of those almost worthless emblems are the principles and ideals of the political party in which they believe. The emblem or symbol stands for something greater.

(1) The love-feast is a memorial of the love of Christ. We know this, because in the introduction to the service in John 13:1 special reference is made to this love: "He loved them unto the end." During the supper Jesus gave special commandment to perpetuate this type of love: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you." The love-feast, with this new name expressing this new type of love, which the world first saw in Jesus, is a standing memorial of Jesus' love. This explains why Paul exhorts the church to "tarry one for the other" in order that they may "eat the Lord's supper."

(2) The love-feast is also a symbol of the love which should characterize the followers of Jesus. It was as He was instituting this feast that He said: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one toward another." As the feast commemorated the love of Jesus, so it teaches His disciples to manifest that same love one toward another. It was at the close of this feast that Jesus prayed to the Father, "That the love wherewith thou lovest me may be in them, and I in them."

This Christian love implies unity, equality and fellowship. It implies unity because the church assembled at this feast is "one body in Christ," and the body is a unity, made so by the common life which Jesus gives. It implies equality because in this body of Christ all members have equal honor. At the ordinary feast the disciples had been prone to seek the chief places, but this feast was a corrective of that desire for pre-eminence. "One is your teacher and all ye are brethren." It implies fellowship because the breaking of bread has in all ages and countries been a symbol or pledge of brotherly love.[4]

There is something about a common meal that binds people together. Jesus conserved the values which come from eating together. If two groups of people are in opposition and can sit down and eat a meal together it makes for unity, harmony, and fellowship every time.

(3) The love-feast is also a type. It is a type of the coming marriage supper of the Lamb. Jesus referred to this as He was instituting these ordinances: "I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine until I drink it new in the Kingdom of God." Just as the table of showbread in the tabernacle, which represented the twelve tribes of Israel, and was partaken of only by the priests, was a type which pointed to this time when we all as priests are permitted to sit "in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus" and have "fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ", so the love-feast is a type which points to the time when this foretaste of heavenly fel-

4. Yoder, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 366.

lowship shall give way to the fulness of the heavenly life. All the earthly gifts and possessions shall pass away. Faith itself shall become sight, hope shall become fruition, and love, the eternal, abiding love of God shall be an eternal feast. It is this love that shines through the love-feast as a memorial, a symbol and a type, and gives it an abiding glory.[5]

In certain sections of the brotherhood it is said some Brethren families have a light lunch about four o'clock in the afternoon called "piece time" or "tea time"; it is a light meal to tide one over and looking forward to a full meal in the evening. So the Lord's Supper or Agape might be symbolically described as a time of fellowship and harmony with Christ and one another looking forward to even a fuller fruition of these Christian virtues in the spirit realm where the soul stands immortal.

II. *Historical Background*

It is likely that the agape was practiced by the early Christians before it was formally named such. "In the Jerusalem community the common meal appears to have sprung out of the communion that characterized the first days of the Christian Church. The religious meals familiar to the Jews would make it natural in Jerusalem to give expression by means of table fellowship to the sense of brotherhood; and the community of goods practiced by the infant church would readily take the particular form of a common table at which the wants of the poor were supplied out of the abundance of the rich."[6]

It is thought that these meals were held in the church in the evening-time usually after a praise and worship service. When the meal was concluded the communion proper was observed in which the bread and the wine signified the broken body and shed blood of the Lord. Love, unity, and brotherhood were dominant throughout.

The agape was not only a devotional experience among the early Christians in which they were brought to love one another but it was also a means of making their influence felt on the outside world. "The agape was not only a very powerful means among primitive Christians of cultivating mutual affection throughout their body and of gaining the good will of those who observed their conduct, but,

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5. *Loc. cit.*
6. *Jewish Ency.*, Vol. 1, p. 230.

in all probability it contributed to the promotion of the Christian cause by leading to conversions."[7]

Tertullian makes this observation: "Nothing low or unseemly is committed in them; nor is it till after having prayed to God that they sit down to table. Food is taken in moderation, as wanted; and no more is used than it becomes discreet persons to drink. Each takes such refreshment as is suitable, in connection with the recollection that he is to be engaged, in the course of the night, in adoration to God; and the conversation is conducted as becometh those who know that the Lord heareth them. After water has been brought for the hands, everyone is invited to sing, and to glorify God, whether by passages from sacred scripture or of his own composition."[8]

The character of the agape changed somewhat by the time the first books of the New Testament were written; the feasts degenerated into revelries in some instances. These abuses gave rise to Paul's corrective measures in I Cor. 11. Jude, verse 12, concerning "spots in your feasts of charity" likewise reflects this degeneration from the simple and natural commemoration of the events which occurred on the night of the betrayal of the Lord.

"Originally the character of the agape was strictly devotional; the feast culminated in the celebration of the Eucharist. At the same time it was a social symbol of the equality and solidarity of the congregation. Here all gave and received the kiss of love; here communications from other congregations were read and answered. When the congregations grew larger, the social differences between members began to make themselves felt and the agape changed character. It became an entertainment for the rich. In Alexandria the psalms and hymns and spiritual songs were supplanted by performances on the lyre, harp and flute. In other places the rich retired altogether from the meetings and the agape sank down into a kind of poorhouse institution. In places these meetings gave rise to disorders and propagated reminiscences of pagans. Other circumstances contributed to throw the agape out of use. The third Council of Constance (391) decreed that the Eucharist should be taken fasting and thereby separated the celebration of the Eucharist from the Agape. The Synod of Laodicaea and the third Council of Carthage and finally the Council in Trullo (692) forbade the Agape to

7. *Popular and Critical Ency.*, Vol. 1, p. 66.
8. Tertullian, *Apology*, chap. XXXIX, Christian Lit. Pub. Co. Edition.

be held in church buildings. At the end of the fourth century it began gradually to disappear. An attempt was made by the Council of Gaugra (380) to restore it to its old position by anathematizing all who despised it, but the effort was in vain."[9]

To sum up the causes which led to the discontinuance of the celebration of the Agape as a part of the communion service the following might be listed:

1. The increase of abuses as they were found in I Corinthians and Jude.
2. The growth of the church in large cities where it became impossible for Christians to meet together in house celebrations.
3. The increasing power of the bishop and clergy, who found in house gatherings a menace to the unity of the church together with the development of the dogma that the presence of the bishop was necessary to make a supper valid.
4. Charges of child murder and cannibalism.
5. The enforcement of the Imperial law against associations.

On account of these reasons the Agape was finally disconnected from the Eucharist, but no scriptural reasons are given anywhere that because of its misuse it should not be observed.

The Dunkers from the beginning placed much emphasis on the historic traditions of the New Testament. True to form, they returned to the teachings of Jesus and to the practices of the early church for guidance in the observance of the love-feast. While the Agape had almost universally disappeared from the church since the end of the fourth century, the Brethren came to a literal interpretation of the scripture on this point and attempted to reproduce the life of the primitive church in their midst as nearly as possible. To this course they still feel bound.

H. R. Holsinger describes a typical Dunker love-feast as it was observed about the turn of the past century:

> Let us glance for a moment at one of those remarkable assemblies. Within the long, low auditorium a vast congregation, often numbering a thousand souls, throngs every foot of available space. The members are all seated around long, immaculately white tables. If it is a typical Tunker communion, the white caps of the sisters, framing pure and peaceful faces, ranged on either side of their separate tables, forms a picture which lingers long in the memory, in its unique and singular beauty. A narrow space along the walls of the church accommodates the audience, the outsiders, and

9. *Schaff-Herzog Ency.*, Vol. 1, p. 34.

thickly standing upon the benches which have been packed into this space, they gaze upon the scene before them with eager and unflagging interest, not seeming to be conscious of the long hours, nor of the fatigue attending their crowded and uncomfortable position. At a central table solemn and venerable men are conducting the service. A devout atmosphere pervades the house. The reverent voice of the officiating bishop arrests even the most careless ear, and all who are present feel that the place is holy, and that God Himself is not very far away.[10]

He describes the Agape more particularly:

Feet-washing having now been concluded, the Lord's Supper was next placed on the table. Certain ones had prepared the food during former exercises. It consisted of bread, mutton or beef, and soup made of meat broth. Thanks being offered, the meal was partaken of. After supper, during the singing of a hymn, the tables were cleared of everything except the cloths, which were turned. Then the Communion bread and wine were placed upon the table.[11]

The Annual Meeting minutes from 1822 to 1872 reveal some of the intricate details of the love-feast as observed by the Brethren: "Whether we might have two tables at love-feast, and also at other meetings; that is, whether members might prepare something warm for the old brethren, and also elderly and weakly members, besides what is served up for all in general. . . . Was considered, that members should be at perfect liberty to show their love toward their old brethren or weakly members, to set before them what they like; yet we would counsel in love to be careful that no bad distinction is made, so that friends and well-wishers are preferred to those who are weakly."[12]

"Concerning breaking up in the morning after love-feast, it was considered that members and their children who stay till morning, should not separate and leave until prayer and thanksgiving to God is made."[13]

"Whether our love-feasts could not be held more privately and often? The advice was to select such times and places as experience may teach to be most suitable for this purpose."[14]

"Some members think there is too much feasting at our love-feasts, in providing so much for those who come to feast, and make disturbance at our meetings. Considered, that we are to feed the

10. Holsinger, *History of the Tunkers,* p. 249.
11. *Ibid.,* p. 251.
12. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1822, Art. 11.
13. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1822, Art. 14.
14. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1842, Art. 3.

hungry, if we are led by Christ's example; and the apostle says, 'Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.' Rom. 12:20."[15]

"How shall we proceed, in case we have a love-feast, and a sister, or sisters, come from another congregation to our love-feast, who wear ear-rings or jewels; whether we have a right to take them in council, and, if not willing to lay them off, whether we are privileged to keep them from the communion table? The Committee was decidedly of the opinion that as it is positively forbidden by Holy Writ (see I Peter 3:3; I Tim. 2:9) it should not be tolerated, except in cases of actual necessity; and that the church, where such members propose to participate in the communion, has the right to take them into council, and if they are not willing to be admonished, to advise them to withdraw till they are willing to sacrifice those forbidden things."[16]

"A request that the oldest bishop choose or appoint twelve brethren to hold a communion or love-feast at the time and place of Yearly Meeting, as a model to show us the right order, according to the Gospel. Considered, that Christ with His apostles, in that doleful night when He was betrayed, has given a model, and shown us the right order."[17]

"What is the advice of the General Council to individual members, say four, five or more, who cannot commune with the church because they have beef instead of a lamb at their love-feast? Considered as good advice for such members to submit to the order of the church where they live, and to reflect on the admonition of the apostle, Col. 2:16, 17, 'Let no man, therefore, judge you, in meat or in drink,' etc., 'which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.' Again, to learn of his example, Phil. 4:11, where he says: 'For I have learned, in whatsoever state I am to be content.' "[18]

III. *Present Practices*

In an attempt to arrive at a norm regarding the present practices in conducting the love-feast in the Church of the Brethren, a ques-

15. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1849, Art. 5.
16. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1853, Art. 8.
17. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1854, Art. 22.
18. *Annual Meeting Minutes,* 1855, Art. 20.

tionnaire was given to ministers and students in the Church from various parts of the brotherhood. Every district in the brotherhood is represented in the answers to the questionnaire. I have tried to record, and in some instances interpret, the answers pertaining only to the love-feast and have not been concerned with feetwashing or the communion.

Practically all of the churches have an examination service in preparation for the love-feast. The service, for the most part, is centered around a self-examination sermon. Some churches make use of other means of preparation such as a worship and meditation service, an evangelistic service or three or four nights of pre-communion services, posting and advertising the scriptures relating to the love-feast to prompt members to read them, using several Sunday evening services or prayer meetings for preparation, registering the individuals intending to be present at the service a few weeks in advance, a letter sent out by the pastor, and a study of the ordinances of the church. It was noted that the annual deacons' visit as a means of getting members ready for the communion has been discontinued in all the churches where the questionnaire was sent. However, quite a few feel it would be well to resume this practice in our churches if the deacons were well selected and trained. Very few who filled out questionnaires feel that their church is adequately trained concerning the meaning and value of the service. Some had question marks.

In the majority of instances the love-feast is held in the main auditorium or sanctuary of the church rather than in the basement. Most of the churches do not decorate and light the room for the service for special effect, although some feel that candles, a lighted cross, pictures, flowers, and quiet music provide added values. Some think it is permissible to use plain paper on the tables instead of table cloths for the sake of economy and from the standpoint of less work, while others feel this practice to be cheap and careless, not as good as in our homes and too noisy. For the most part there is no special seating of communicants around the tables. Of course the brethren and sisters sit in their own groups and the officiating minister, elders, and deacons sit together. Apart from this, friends more or less gravitate together.

In answer to the question, "Do you serve meat and the sop and bread?" the answer is "yes" in practically every case. Individual plates are used and sandwiches are rare. Bread is preferable to buns.

Beef is most common although mutton and cheese found their way on a very few questionnaires. Most of the people who answered the question feel the menu is proper for their church and stress the point that the fellowship of love is the important thing and not the items of food. In this connection I discovered a quotation in regard to the Agape of the early church: "In the Didache only a cup of wine and bread are explicitly mentioned. In the Acts of Paul and Thecla 'five loaves of bread, with vegetables and salt besides, and water' are spoken of. Later on, Augustine mentions meat, poultry, cheese, milk, and honey. Some suggest that fish was commonly used."[19]

It was discovered that the articles of food used in the love-feast most often have no symbolical meaning to the members. However, the meal as a whole in many instances is a symbol of brotherhood, love, and fellowship and points forward to the "marriage Supper of the Lamb." Silence is preferred instead of the communicants talking and fellowshiping during the meal. A few, however, are in favor of talking quietly and reverently about the first Supper when Jesus was present in person with the disciples in the upper room. I notice this statement from Tertullian concerning the Agape of the primitive church: "The conversation is conducted as becometh those who know that the Lord heareth them." The answers were about equally divided on the question: "Is there a prayer of thanksgiving before and after the meal or just preceding the meal?"

According to the questionnaire there is no particular day or time for the observance of the love-feast in the churches of the brotherhood although Sunday evening at 6:30 is most generally the accepted time. The average length for the entire service is one and one-half hours. The deacons and their wives prepare the meal and the tables for the feast, and these, with other volunteers, are responsible for putting the room in order after the service.

The love-feast is held twice a year in most of the churches and those who answered the question think this is satisfactory. Several believe it would be wise to have only the bread and cup monthly or quarterly and the Agape and feetwashing according to the regular schedule. Most of the answers reveal that the general belief is that any Christian who follows our practices should be allowed to take part in the love-feast and communion. In most cases the individual

19. *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. 1, p. 174.

himself is the one to decide who is eligible to participate. In some instances the official board or elder makes this decision.

Few churches keep an accurate record of the attendance at the love-feast. In answer to the question, "What per cent of your members attend almost every one of your communion services?" the answers range from 25% to 90%, with the average probably about 58%. In answer to the question, "What per cent seldom, if ever, attend the service?" the answers range from 10% to 70%, with the norm probably about 32%. Of course these statistics include resident and nonresident members and the figures to begin with were estimates. In rare instances do members take part in the communion who do not take part in the entire service. For the most part the communion is regarded as more meaningful than the feetwashing or fellowship meal, while many answers show that the service is thought of as a unit and no differentiation is made between the various parts.

On "What can be done to increase the attendance?" many confessed ignorance and a desire for help. The most common answers given on this point were more training and teaching, publicity, personal work, brotherliness, making the service intelligently meaningful and helpful, and adjusting the service so that the bread and wine only are used.

THE DOCTRINAL BELIEFS OF THE WALDENSES

Jacob F. Replogle

EDITOR'S NOTE

Of the discussion of the origins of the Brethren there is no end. Much of such discussion is profitable.

It seems to be apparent that the ideal of Church Life which has been formative in Brethren thought can be traced ultimately to the Brenardine-Franciscan-Waldensian movement in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. From this Christ-mysticism and imitation-of-Jesus emphasis there evolved the idea of a Church founded upon the recorded teachings of Jesus and with no other Law.

The emphasis upon the Book seems to have been a devout and practical emphasis (not a learned emphasis) and became anti-Hierarchical when the bishops excommunicated Waldo. A Church was then visioned, founded upon the Bible and particularly that part of the Bible we call the New Testament.

This idea once launched has exerted incalculable influence during the past seven centuries. The group at Schwarzenau was one historical embodiment of that idea. Not only by similarity of thought but through the Anabaptist side of our Brotherhood's ancestry we are in the Waldensian lineage.

Introduction

Bernard of Clairvaux

In a certain sense, Peter Waldo can share the company of St. Francis of Assisi and even Bernard of Clairvaux in the rise of a new doctrinal belief. Though the latter two are venerated as saints within the Hierarchical Church while the former can claim but the distinction of a dissenter, there is much in common as to their basic beliefs and practices. Hence to get the true perspective of what the Waldensians believe it is well to go back to its founder and perceive not only what he believed but the theological influences that played upon his theological thinking. For that reason may we not examine Bernard of Clairvaux to think out just what influence there was that affected Waldo.

Bernard of Clairvaux was the greatest religious genius of the twelfth century and the principal figure in the movement which profoundly affected the life of the Western Church, and was not without its influence on the development of Christian thought, especially as it relates to Waldo. McGiffert states: "As in theology the formal acceptance of the traditional system was followed ultimately by its rationalization and subjective appropriation, so in religion objective rites and ceremonies and means of grace ceased wholly to satisfy the growing spiritual needs of the western world and piety was becoming more and more a matter of inner experience rather than of mere external observance. In the eleventh century this inner personal religion found frequent and sometimes deeply emotional expression in the writings of Peter Damiani, Othloh, Anselm and others, and in the twelfth century it spread rapidly and became widely dominant. Bernard was its most important representative."[1] Though he expressed himself often in theological subjects Bernard was not a theologian. He was essentially a pastor and preacher concerned first of all for the personal religious life of the monks under his care but also profoundly interested in the welfare and peace and purity of the church at large. He was firmly convinced of the truth of the whole Christian system and bitterly opposed to heresy and theological novelties of every kind, but his attention was centered in life rather than doctrine, in religion rather than theology. The word "experience" was a favorite with him. Religion for Bernard was not

1. McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, *A History of Christian Thought,* Vol. II, p. 222.

merely a traditional thing; it was intensely personal, his own in a very real sense. For him, the way to God was through the affections, not the intellect; we come to know God by love rather than by learning. In a way this was Waldo's contention except the Word of God, the Book, was the source of relationship with God. The traits which Bernard chiefly emphasized in Jesus were humility and love. In these, he insisted, the imitation of Christ principally consisted. Of humility, "the mother of salvation" as he called it, he had a great deal to say, coming back to it over and over again in his sermons on the Song of Songs. In this especially did he anticipate Waldo who believed thoroughly in the humble simple way of life disdaining all worldly motives.

St. Francis of Assisi

The similarities of the beginnings of Peter Waldo with that of Francis of Assisi are so close that it almost startles one. Neither were theologians. Their supreme ambition was to follow Christ and become truly one with Him. Both rejected wealth and position, giving their fortune away and taking to the road in imitation of the Apostles. Both founded brotherhood group movements which demanded vows of poverty and charity. While Francis' group became recognized and remained within the pale of the church, Waldo's became a heretical group, the object of persecution. Yet many of the writers have been vehement in their distinction between the two. Comba states: "If the Waldensian reaction presents an original type, it owes it to Waldo. The Mendicant Orders are only an imitation or a caricature of it. Between the Waldensian principle and that of the monks, there is all the difference that separates obedience from servile cringing. If, according to his disciples, Waldo was 'like a lion that awakes from his sleep,' the monks were but dogs that allow themselves to be muzzled."[2]

Primitive Beliefs of Peter Waldo

Peter Waldo's entire program is contained, as Comba puts it, in the command that re-echoed from the depth of his own conscience: "Come, thou, and follow me." It includes all the precepts of evangelical law, from that of voluntary poverty to that of free preaching. These two precepts of opposite extremes meet here; in reality they constitute but one, and that unity is the ideal of the Waldensian re-

2. Comba, Emilio, *History of the Waldenses of Italy*, p. 241.

action. Of the ideals and beliefs of the Waldensians Schaff states: "In their earliest period the Waldenses were not heretics. . . . The first distinguishing principle of the Waldenses bore on daily conduct and was summed up in the words of the Apostles, 'we ought to obey God rather than man.' The second distinguishing principle was the authority and popular use of the Scriptures. Here again the Waldenses anticipated the Protestant Reformation without realizing, as is probable, the full meaning of their demand. The third principle was the importance of preaching and right of laymen to exercise that function. Peter Waldo and his associates were lay evangelists. The Waldenses went still further in showing a shocking disregard for old-time custom and claimed the right to preach for women as well as for men."[3]

John Paul Perrin in his original *History of the Old Waldenses* in referring to the doctrines of Peter Waldo, stated that to Waldo the thought of the idea of transubstantiation and of the worship of bread was positively revolting. "Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, appeared most courageous in opposition to that unholy invention. He also attacked several other corruptions which had been adopted by the Roman priesthood, for he asserted that: the papists had forsaken the faith of Jesus Christ; the church of Rome is the Babylonish harlot, and alike the barren fig tree which the Lord formerly cursed; the Pope is not to be obeyed, forasmuch as he is not the head of the church; monkery is an abominable thing; vows are the character and mark of the great beast; purgatory masses, dedications of temples, worship of Saints, and commemoration of the dead, are only the inventions of devils, and the engines of avarice."[4] Flick condenses Peter Waldo's beliefs to about five in number: "all good men are priests; permitted women to preach; assailed indulgences; advocated nonresistance; denounced war and homicide among other things."[5]

Early Beliefs of the Waldenses

Coming from Waldo himself to the group which bore his name, Qualben sums up their doctrines in this manner: "The Waldenses had the following program: 1) the church must return to the pure teaching of Scripture; 2) there is no purgatory; 3) the church is

3. Schaff, Philip, *History of the Christian Church,* Vol. V, Part I, p. 502.
4. Perrin, John Paul, *History of the Ancient Christians Inhabiting the Alps,* p. 32.
5. Flick, Alexander C., *The Rise of the Medieval Church,* p. 573.

not infallible; 4) selling one's goods and giving the proceeds to the poor is an act of Christian consecration."[6]

McCabe quotes Alexis Muston, Vol. I, pages 18-20, to state: "Their doctrines were equally analagous or rather were remarkably identical with those of the Apostolic times, and of the earliest fathers of the church. They may be briefly summed up in these few words: the absolute authority and inspiration of the Bible—the Trinity in the Godhead—the sinful state of man—the free salvation of Jesus Christ—but, above all, faith working by love."[7]

Scriptural Emphasis

The Scripture, as has been stated, was for them the very fountain head of religious knowledge. Superior to reason, tradition, and the authority of the church, it takes its stand as the rule of faith. Comba states that they distinguished in it three successive laws: the natural law, the law of Moses, and the perfect law of Jesus Christ. This latter alone is permanent. To meditate upon it and observe it is all their wisdom, as it also is their life. From Waldo on, the Scripture was accepted from the Vulgate with all of its literal interpretation. The word of Christ was clear enough, and for Waldo and his followers it was simply a question of furnishing a literal translation. Nowhere did they produce theorists or theologians, but they knew their Scripture. It is almost amazing to note that the Waldenses' followers were required to commit to memory the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, the General Epistles, and a part of those of St. Paul.

It must be remembered, the Waldenses were not theorists. Their reaction, which was essentially moral, departed at first, but very slightly, from traditional dogmas. A new life, according to the perfect law of Christ, commences with repentance; that constitutes the first round of the ladder of perfection. As everyone ought to repent before death comes to take him unawares, there is no time to be lost. If God waits for the sinner, if He prolong the time of His patience, it is only during our pilgrimage here below as it is somewhat stated in the Noble Lesson. Is this a denial of purgatory? At least it is very far from leading to an admission of that doctrine. There are two paths, said the Waldenses—one is the path of life, the other that of death. The first leads straight to paradise; the second, to

6. Qualben, L. P., *A History of the Christian Church,* p. 182.
7. McCabe, James D., *The Cross and Crown,* p. 28.

hell. There is no middle road. The most ancient Waldensian writings ignore purgatory. They likewise believed that man is not saved by faith alone. Works are the demonstration of faith, and an earnest of our election. God has promised Paradise to us as He promised our daily bread, but we must earn it.

Three Basic Precepts

Just as the Waldenses' dogmas adhered to Catholic tradition, so, too, their moral teachings recall those of the Cathari. Many writers make much of the similarity of moral precepts of the two groups but it seems that the influence of the Cathari has been exaggerated, for the moral teachings of the Waldenses seemed copied, even as many of their practices, from the Sermon on the Mount and the precepts of Christ. Three of those precepts have been much emphasized and ought to be mentioned. According to the Waldenses, every man is bound to tell the truth, as much out of regard for his neighbor as from self-respect. Lying kills the soul. A second precept of the Waldenses was that every man must abstain from swearing. According to the Waldenses the oath is in no case allowable. Swearing was classified by them as a mortal sin. If any man be compelled to take an oath, he must hasten to confess his sin and do penance. A third precept is that of capital punishment. "The Waldenses affirm," says Bernard Gui, "that all judgment, being forbidden by God, is a sin, and the judge, who, under whatever circumstances, and for whatever motive, condemns a man to torture or to death, acts contrary to the Gospel, in which it is written: 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.' They also appeal to the commandment: 'Thou shalt not kill,' nor regard any commentaries thereon. . . . It condemns all manner of violent death, whether by the sword of the soldier or of justice."

Such are the characteristic features of the creed and moral teaching of the Waldenses. More of their belief is to follow. However it is quite clear that they do diverge more and more from the world and the official church.

The Sacramental Beliefs

Turning from a study of their organization, worship and administration, we continue our search for beliefs of the early Waldenses. The Sacraments afford us an insight into their doctrinal beliefs. "The Waldenses," Montet wrote, "enter into competition with the Catholic priesthood as regards preaching; but they accept the Sacraments

at their hands. That was true at the very commencement of the work; but little by little, when the first condemnation of the Waldenses was sanctioned by the Lateran Council, and persecution was let loose by means of the Inquisition, the question of the Sacraments changed its aspects." They very soon disregarded the Sacraments of Confirmation and Extreme Unction, and finally rejected them, at least in some districts of Germany. The other Sacraments, namely, Baptism, Ordination, Confession, and the Eucharist, were fully recognized.

The Waldenses were originally so completely under the dominion of Catholic tradition that a reaction was not long in taking place. Without baptism no salvation they said unanimously; then, while still following this same tradition, added that it might be administered by any one.

As to the Sacrament of Ordination, the Waldenses surely did have such a thing. Even though every man and woman had the right to preach yet as is seen in the organization of the Waldenses, there were definite steps in the election and ordination of ministers. Nevertheless it is well that we here notice what one Inquisitor wrote concerning Waldensian ordination: "When they wish to admit anyone to their number, they first examine him during a certain time, after prolonged instruction. At the moment of ordination, they require of him a confession of all the sins he can remember from his youth up. Moreover to be received into their ranks, one must be chaste." Then the writer goes on to say that the candidate was interrogated upon the seven articles of faith, that is to say, he was asked whether he believed:

1. In a God, in three persons, one in nature.
2. In a God, Creator of all things, visible and invisible.
3. In the divine promulgation of the law of Moses on Mount Sinai.
4. In the incarnation of the Son of God in the Virgin's womb.
5. In the election of the Holy Church.
6. In the resurrection of the body.
7. In the judgment to come.

The other articles of the creed are not mentioned. The candidate was further questioned upon the seven Sacraments. As to the vows required of him, they are the three we already know: obedience, poverty, chastity, in addition to the two following pledges: When he

shall be in prison or in danger of death, he shall not redeem his life or that of his brethren, by a false oath or any other mortal sin; and he shall not maintain with his kindred greater relations of intimacy than those which unite him to his brethren.

A third Sacrament was that of Penance. Comba states: "This Sacrament is in such perfect harmony with the character of the Waldensian reaction, that one might almost say, 'if it had not existed, the Waldenses would have invented it.' "[8] Their sincere and rigorous confession was addressed to God, but it was far from excluding the office of the confessor, as some have thought. Little by little they drew away from the practice of the Church though a few could be seen going to the priest but only in cases of necessity or to ward off suspicion. They usually said: "It is better to confess to a pious layman than to an unworthy priest." Moreover, one of the reasons which urged penitents to confess to the Waldenses was that they were sure to be received well. Some even attributed magical powers to the Waldenses hearing confessions. The form of absolution varied. One version has it that the bishop would say: "God absolve thee from all thy sins. I enjoin upon thee contrition for thy sins until death, and the performance of such and such a penance." Another is less brief: "May our Lord, who forgave Zacchaeus, Mary Magdalene and Paul, who delivered Peter from his bonds, and Martha and other penitent women, deign to remit thy sin. The Lord bless and keep thee, the Lord make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee and give thee peace. And may the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep thy heart and mind in Jesus Christ. Blessed be thou by God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen."

Penance, always rigorous, was sometimes excessive. It consisted of prayer and fasting. Concerning prayer, they used the Lord's Prayer in repetition, believing it to be the only prayer ordained by Christ. The Ave Maria was never used. As to fasting, the Waldenses seemed to conform to the following: Mondays and Wednesdays, semi-fasts, not excluding the use of meats; Friday and part of Lent, strict fasting, "not for conscience's sake—for Christ does not command fasting— but in order not to give offence."

Finally, the Waldenses attached a great importance to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The sacrament underwent at their hands a

8. Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

beginning of reform. They professed to believe in the dogma of transubstantiation, which was several centuries old by this time. They disagreed in the manner of explaining it but not in the sacrament itself. To them it mattered little whether the celebrant was consecrated or not; he must, above all, be a good man. The sacramental consecration was accepted even from laymen almost the same as baptism. Comba quotes an interesting recital of the early Waldensian Eucharist service: "The Poor of Lyons celebrated their mass once a year, namely, on Holy Thursday. At night-fall he who presides, if he have received the order of the priesthood, gathers around him all the members of his family of both sexes; he causes a bench or a box to be set up before them, which is covered with a clean table cloth, upon which are placed a large glass of pure wine and an unleavened loaf of bread. Then he who presides says: 'Let us pray that God in His mercy may pardon our sins and transgressions, and deign to answer our prayers; to this end we will repeat the Lord's Prayer seven times, to the glory of God and the Holy Trinity.' Whereupon all kneel and say the Lord's Prayer seven times; then they rise. Afterwards, he who consecrates makes the sign of the cross over the bread and the cup, and, after having broken the bread, he gives a piece to each; then he passes the cup to all. They remain standing during the whole time of the celebration; and this closes their act of sacrifice. They firmly believe and confess that it is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If aught of the sacrifice remains unconsumed, they keep it till Easter and finish eating it on that day. If anyone present ask permission to receive it, they give it to him. For the space of one year, they give nothing to their sick but consecrated bread and wine. Such was originally the custom of the Poor of Lyons, or Waldenses, before division came in among them."[9]

It is interesting to note what one of the Waldensian preachers, Barbe Morel, writes concerning their beliefs at the time just preceding the Reformation: "With regard to our articles of beliefs, we teach our people, as well as we can, the contents of the twelve articles of the Symbol, called the Apostles' Creed, and every doctrine deviating from it is looked upon by us as heresy. We believe in a God in three persons; we hold that the humanity of Christ is created and inferior to the Father, who wished by means of it to redeem man-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

kind; but we admit at the same time that Christ is both very God and very man. We hold also that there is no other mediator and intercessor with God than Jesus Christ. The Virgin Mary is holy, humble, and full of grace; the same with the other saints; and they wait with her in heaven the glorification of their bodies at the resurrection. We believe that, after this life, there is only the place of abode of the elect, called paradise, and that of the rejected, called hell. As for purgatory it was invented by anti-Christ, contrary to truth, therefore we reject it. All that are of human invention—such as Saints' days, vigils, holy water, fasts or fixed days, and the like, especially the mass—are, as we think, an abomination in the sight of God. We believe the Sacraments to be the signs of a sacred thing, or a visible figure of an invisible grace, and that it is good and useful for the faithful sometimes to partake of them, if possible; but we believe that, if the opportunity to do so be lacking, a man may be saved nevertheless. As I understand it, we have erred in admitting more than two sacraments. We also hold that oral confession is useful, if it be observed without distinction of time and for the purpose of comforting the sick, the ignorant, and those who seek our advice, according to the Scriptures. According to our rule, charity ought to proceed as follows: First, everyone must love God, above all creatures, even more than his own soul; then his soul more than all else; then his neighbor's soul more than his own life; then his own life more than his neighbor's, finally, the life of his neighbor more than his own property."[10]

Formulated Statements of Faith

The Waldensian Catechism

Turning our attention now to formulated statements of belief in the period preceding the Reformation, we find a catechism of about the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Schaff states:

"The doctrinal affinity of the Waldensians and the Bohemian Brethren appears especially in their catechisms, which are the most important of all their writings before the Reformation, and which prove their zeal for Christian education on the basis of the Scriptures. The Waldensian Catechism has a better claim to originality, and, although not nearly as old as was formerly supposed, must have been written before 1500 (Leger, Monastier, and Halm trace it to the beginning of the twelfth century.)

"The Waldensian Catechism, called 'The Smaller Questions,' intended for children, is a remarkable production for an age of prevailing popular

10. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

superstition and ignorance. It consists of fifty-seven questions by the teacher, and as many answers by the pupil. It embodies the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and is divided into three divisions—Faith (Ques. 6), Hope (Ques. 32), and Love (Ques. 47). This division was suggested by St. Paul and Augustine (Enchiridon), and is followed also in the Greek Catechism of Mogila and the Russian Catechism of Philout. Under the head of Faith we have a practical exposition of the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, showing their subjective bearing on a living faith. In the Second Part (Ques. 32), Love is defined to be a gift of the Holy Spirit and an intimate union of the human will with the divine will. In the Third Part (Ques. 48), Hope is defined to be a certain expectation of grace and future glory. The Catechism is directed against the idolatry and superstition of the anti-Christian Church, but the opposition is indirect and moderate. The characteristic Waldensian features are the distinction between a living and a dead faith (Ques. 8); the six evangelical commandments (Ques. 21); the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (Ques. 23); the distinction between the true or essential (invisible) Church, which consists of all the elect of God in Christ, known only to him, and the outward or institutional (visible) church, i. e., the ministers and the people subject to them (Ques. 35); and the rigid exposition of the second commandment against all forms of idolatry (Ques. 29). Of the sacraments it is said (Ques. 46): 'Two are absolutely necessary for all; the rest are less necessary.' This clearly indicates that the Catechism was written before the Reformation period, when the Waldenses rejected all but two sacraments.

"The following is a specimen translated to give an idea of the Catechism:

The Waldensian Catechism Translated

1. If you are asked, who art thou? Answer:
   I am a creature of God, rational and mortal.
2. For what end has God made you?
   That I might know and serve him, and be saved by his grace.
3. On what rests thy salvation?
   On three fundamental virtues, which are necessary to salvation.
4. Which are thy?
   Faith, Hope, Love.
5. How do you prove this?
   The Apostle writes, I Cor. Xiii, 'Now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love.'
6. Which is the first fundamental virtue?
   Faith; for the Apostle says, 'It is impossible to please God without faith; for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him' (Heb. Xi:6).
7. What is faith?
   According to the Apostle, Heb. Xi, faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.
8. How many kinds of faith are there?
   Two kinds, a living faith and a dead faith.
9. What is a living faith?
   It is a faith active in love (as the Apostle testifies, Gal. V:6), that is, by keeping God's commandments. Living faith is to believe in God, that is, to love him and to keep his commandments.

10. What is dead faith?
    According to St. James, faith which has no works is dead in itself; faith is idle without works. Or dead faith is to believe that God is, to believe about God, of God, but not to believe in God.
11. What is your faith?
    The true catholic and apostolic faith.
12. Which is that?
    It is the one which at the Council of the Apostles was divided into twelve articles.
13. Which is it?
    I believe in God the Father Almighty," etc.
    (now follows the Apostles' Creed in full.)[11]

After the spurt of the Reformation and during that dark period of renewed persecution, the Waldenses proclaimed their faith in a Confession, dated A. D. 1655 though a few would give it other various dates. Of it Schaff states that the Confession belongs to the Calvinistic family, and is in fact an abridgment of the Gallican Confession of 1559, and that it is still in force, or at least highly prized among the Waldenses in Italy. He also feels that it was composed by Jean Leger, who was at that time Moderator of the Churches in Piedmont, and later became their historian. It is well that space be given here to this Confession as we are here studying the doctrines and beliefs of the Waldenses.

A Confession of the Waldenses A. D. 1655[12]

"Having understood that our adversaries, not contented to have most cruelly persecuted us, and robbed us of all our goods and estates, have yet an intention to render us odious to the world, by spreading abroad many false reports, and so not only to defame our persons, but likewise to asperse with most shameful calumnies that holy and wholesome doctrine which we profess, we look upon ourselves as obliged, for the better information of those whose minds may perhaps be preoccupied by sinister opinions, to make a short declaration of our faith, such as we have heretofore professed and held, and do at this day profess and hold as conformable to the word of God; and so every one may see the falsity of those their calumnies, and also how unjustly we are hated and persecuted upon the account of our profession.

"We believe,

"1. First, that there is one only God, who is a spiritual essence, eternal, infinite, all-wise, merciful, just, and, in sum, all-perfect; and that there are three persons in that one only and simple essence, viz: The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

"2. That the same God has manifested himself unto us by the works of Creation and Providence, as also in his word revealed unto us, first by ora-

11. Schaff, Philip, *Creeds of Christendom,* Vol. I, pp. 572-575.
12. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, pp. 575 ff.

cles in several manners, and afterwards by those written books which are called the Holy Scriptures.

"3. That we ought to receive those Holy Scriptures (as we do) for sacred and canonical, that is to say, for the constant rule of our faith and life: as also to believe that the same is fully contained in the Old and New Testament; and that by the Old Testament we must understand only such books as God did intrust the Judaical church with, and which that church always approved and acknowledged to be from God: namely, the five books of Moses, Joshua, the Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 of Samuel, 1 and 2 of the Kings, 1 and 2 of the Chronicles, the 1 of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the four great, and the twelve minor Prophets: the New Testament contains only the four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul—1 to the Romans, 2 to the Corinthians, 1 to the Galatians, 1 to the Ephesians, 1 to the Philippians, 1 to the Colossians, 2 to the Thessalonians, 2 to Timothy, 1 to Titus, 1 to Philemon, and his Epistle to the Hebrews; 1 of St. James, 2 of St. Peter, 3 of St. John, 1 of St. Jude; and lastly, the Revelation.

"4. We acknowledge the divinity of these books, not only from the testimony of the church, but more especially because of the eternal and undoubted truth of the doctrine therein contained, and of that most divine excellency, sublimity, and majesty, which appears therein; besides the testimony of the Holy Spirit, who gives us to receive with reverence the testimony of the church in that point, and opens the eyes of our understanding to discover the beams of that celestial light, which shines in the Scripture, and prepares our taste to discern the divine favor of that spiritual food.

"5. That God made all things of nothing by his own free will, and by the infinite power of his word.

"6. That he governs and rules all by his providence, ordaining and appointing whatsoever happens in this world, without being author or cause of any evil committed by the creatures, so that the defect thereof neither can nor ought to be any ways imputed unto him.

"7. That the angels were all in the beginning created pure and holy, but that some of them are fallen into irreparable corruption and perdition; and that the rest have persevered in their first purity by an effect of divine goodness, which has upheld and confirmed them.

"8. That man was created clean and holy, after the image of God, and that through his own fault he deprived himself of that happy condition, by giving credit to the deceitful words of the devil.

"9. That man by his transgression lost that righteousness and holiness which he received, and is thereby obnoxious to the wrath of God, death, and captivity, under the jurisdiction of him who has the power of death, that is the devil; insomuch that our free will has become a servant and a slave to sin; and thus all men, both Jews and Gentiles, are by nature the children of wrath, being all dead in their trespasses and sins, and consequently incapable of the least good motion, or inclination to any thing which concerns their salvation: yea, incapable to think one good thought without God's special grace, all their imaginations being wholly evil, and that continually.

"10. That all the posterity of Adam is guilty of his disobedience, and infected by his corruption, and fallen into the same calamity with him, even the very infants from their mothers' womb, whence is derived the word of original sin.

"11. That God saves from that corruption and condemnation those whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, not for any disposition, faith, or holiness that he foresaw in them, but of his mere mercy in Jesus Christ his Son; passing by all the rest, according to the irreprehensible reason of his free will and justice.

"12. That Jesus Christ having been ordained by the eternal decree of God to be the only Saviour, and head of that body which is the church, he redeemed it with his own blood in the fulness of time, and communicates unto the same all his benefits, together with the gospel.

"13. That there are two natures in Jesus Christ, viz., divine and human, truly united in one and the same person, without either confusion, separation, division, or alteration; each nature keeping its own distinct proprieties; and that Jesus Christ is both true God and true man.

"14. That God so loved the world, that is to say, those whom he has chosen out of the world, that he gave his own Son to save us by his most perfect obedience (especially that obedience which he expressed in his suffering the cursed death of the cross), and also by his victory over the devil, sin, and death.

"15. That Jesus Christ having fully expiated our sins by his most perfect sacrifice once offered on the cross, it neither can nor ought to be reiterated upon any account whatsoever, as they pretend to do in the mass.

"16. That the Lord having fully and absolutely reconciled us unto God, through the blood of his cross, by virtue of his merit only, and not of our works, we are thereby absolved and justified in his sight, neither is there any other purgatory besides his blood, which cleanses us from all sin.

"17. That we are united with Christ, and made partakers of all his benefits by faith, trusting and confiding wholly to those promises of life which are given us in the gospel.

"18. That that faith is the gracious and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit, which enlightens our souls, and persuades them to lean and rest upon the mercy of God, and so thereby to apply unto themselves the merits of Jesus Christ.

"19. That Jesus Christ is our true and only mediator, not only redeeming us, but also interceding for us, and that by virtue of his merits and intercession we have access unto the Father, for to make our supplications unto him, with a holy confidence and assurance that he will grant us our requests, it being needless to have recourse to any other intercessor besides himself.

"20. That as God has promised us that we shall be regenerated in Christ, so those that are united unto him by a true faith ought to apply, and do really apply themselves unto good works.

"21. That good works are so necessary to the faithful, that they cannot attain the kingdom of heaven without the same, seeing that God hath prepared them that we should walk therein; and therefore we ought to avoid vice, and to apply ourselves to Christian virtues, making use of fasting, and all other means which may conduce to so holy a thing.

"22. That although our good works cannot merit anything, yet the Lord will reward or recompense them with eternal life, through the merciful continuation of his grace, and by virtue of the unchangeable constancy of his promises made unto us.

"23. That those who are already in the possession of eternal life by their faith and good works ought to be considered as saints, and as glorified per-

sons, and to be praised for their virtue, and imitated in all good actions of their life, but neither worshipped nor prayed unto, for God only is to be prayed unto, and that through Jesus Christ.

"24. That God has chosen unto himself one church in the world for the salvation of mankind, and that same church to have one only head and foundation, which is Christ.

"25. That that church is the company of the faithful, who having been elected before the foundation of the world, and called with an holy calling, come to unite themselves to follow the word of God, believing whatsoever he teaches them, and living in his fear.

"26. That that church cannot err, nor be annihilated, but must endure for ever, and that all the elect are upheld and preserved by the power of God in such sort, that they all persevere in the faith unto the end, and remain united in the holy church, as so many living members thereof.

"27. That all men ought to join with that church, and to continue in the communion thereof.

"28. That God does not only instruct and teach us by his word, but has also ordained certain sacraments to be joined with it, as a means to unite us unto Christ, and to make us partakers of his benefits; and that there are only two of them belonging in common to all the members of the church under the New Testament—to wit, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

"29. That God has ordained the sacrament of Baptism to be a testimony of our adoption, and of our being cleansed from our sins, by the blood of Jesus Christ, and renewed in holiness of life.

"30. That the Holy Supper was instituted for the nourishment of our souls, to the end that eating effectually the flesh of Christ, and drinking effectually his blood, by the incomprehensible virtue and power of the Holy Spirit, and through a true and living faith, and so uniting ourselves most closely and inseparably to Christ, we come to enjoy in him and by him spiritual and eternal life. Now to the end that every one may clearly see what our belief is as to this point, we have here inserted the very expressions of that prayer which we make use of before the Communion, as they are written in our Liturgy or form of celebrating the Holy Supper, and likewise in our public Catechism, which are to be seen at the end of our Psalms; these are the words of the prayer,—

"Seeing our Lord has not only once offered his body and blood for the remission of our sins, but is willing also to communicate the same unto us as the food of eternal life, we humbly beseech him so to give us of his grace, that in true sincerity of heart and with an ardent zeal we may receive of him so great a benefit; that is, that we may be made partakers of his body and blood, or rather of his whole self, by a sure and certain faith.

"The words of the Liturgy are these—Let us then believe first the promises which Christ (who is the infallible truth), has pronounced with his own mouth, viz., that he will make us truly partakers of his body and blood, that so we may possess him entirely, and in such sort that he may live in us, and we in him. The words of our Catechism are the same, Nella Dominica 53.

"31. That it is necessary the church should have ministers known by those who are employed for that purpose, to be learned, and of a good life, as well to preach the word of God as to administer the sacraments, and wait upon the flock of Christ (according to the rules of a good and holy disci-

pline), together with the elders and deacons, after the manner of the primitive church.

"32. That God hath established kings and magistrates to govern the people, and that the people ought to be obedient and subject unto them, by virtue of that ordination, not only for fear, but also for conscience-sake, in all things that are conformable to the word of God, who is the King of Kings, and the Lord of lords.

"33. Finally, that we ought to receive the symbol of the apostles, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue, as fundamentals of our faith and of our devotion.

"And for a more ample declaration of our faith, we do here reiterate the same protestation which we caused to be printed in 1603, that is to say, that we do agree in sound doctrine with all the reformed churches of France, Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and others, as it is represented by them in their confessions; as also we receive the Confession of Augsburg, and as it was published by the authors, promising to persevere constantly therein with the help of God, both in life and death, and being ready to subscribe to that eternal truth of God, with our own blood, even as our ancestors have done from the days of the apostles, and especially in these latter ages.

"Therefore we humbly entreat all the evangelical and protestant churches to look upon us as true members of the mystical body of Christ, suffering for his name sake, notwithstanding our poverty and lowness; and to continue unto us the help of their prayers to God, and all other effects of their charity, as we have heretofore abundantly found and felt, for the which we return them our most humble thanks, entreating the Lord with all our heart to be their rewarder, and to pour upon them the most precious blessings of grace and glory, both in this life and that which is to come. Amen."

Before closing this historical study of the beliefs of the Waldenses with its modern interpretation and modern note, it is well that we again clearly summarize the essence of their belief as it relates especially to the Reformation and the Pre-Reformation period. No better statement could be tersely made than that in a letter of the Waldenses of Cabrieres to John of Roma, an Inquisitor, on February 3, 1533. "We believe all the commandments of God, as Jesus Christ taught them to His holy Apostles, and as the Holy Church holds and believes them, and God forbid that we should wish or undertake to increase or diminish, correct or reprove the law and doctrine of God, who is all-good, all-wise, and all-perfect; who never uttered an imperfect word or thing, in which there is anything to be repented of or to be amended; by which law, as sacred and perfect, we wish to live and die. And we take God to our witness that we hold no opinion of any particular sect, and that we believe and have believed neither in Waldo, nor Luther, nor anyone else, except inasmuch as he proclaimed the Word of God and not his own, provided

we have been able to know. That is what we hold and believe, protesting before God and all the world, that if we have been made to say otherwise, by any means whatsoever, be it by cunning, threats, prisons, tortures, or torments, it was contrary to the truth and our faith and belief."[13]

Modern Waldensian Beliefs

With but a brief word of the statement of the beliefs of the Waldenses and I will close this section. Ever since Oliver Cromwell came to the aid of the persecuted Waldenses, they have been under the wing of the Protestant churches, especially the Presbyterian church. Their beliefs have naturally taken on the color of that denomination. Yet even today the distinctive doctrines of the Waldenses appear dimly above the mixture of others. Carlo Lupo, of Turin recently said: "As to the character of our work, we hold that a polemic against the Roman Church is sinful. These days are too serious; no human organization has the right to boast, over against another, the monopoly of the truth when this truth is not lived out in the daily practice of life. . . . Many are the difficulties arising from bigotry of every shade, but realizing that we are called to be as leaven in the meal, we seek to perform that sacred function." Or, to take another quotation from a sermon at the Waldensian Synod of 1932: "Four hundred years ago we joined the great Protestant family to which it is our glory to belong; and yet we know well that our work in Italy is not to make Protestants, but to lead souls to Christ."

What do the Waldenses believe today? I close with a brief statement of what the Waldensian Church believes and teaches as of 1940, and published in a little pamphlet by the American Waldensian Aid Society.

"The Waldensian Church believes in 1) The Bible available to every man in his own language; 2) A vital personal Christian experience producing radiance of life; 3) Religious liberty; 4) Christian tolerance for all faith and races; 5) Representative government in the church; 6) High and free educational standards; 7) International Christian fellowship."

That is what the Waldensian Church believes yesterday and today. May it continue to march on "keeping their light shining in darkness."

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13. Comba, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE BRETHREN'S ALMANAC OF 1874

Claxton Helms

EDITOR'S NOTE

In the issue of Vol. I, No. 2 began a study of the Yearbook publications of the Brethren. The writer of that study, Chester I. Harley, calls attention to one specific omission which he was not able to supply. We are indebted to the present contributor for supplying that omission. This article therefore is supplemental to Mr. Harley's longer study.

The Brethren's Almanac, for the United States for the Year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1874, Being After the Fourth of July, the Ninety-ninth of American Independence; Containing, besides the Astronomical Department, a List of the Names and Addresses of Ministers, Biographies, Announcements, Essays and Other Useful and Instructive Reading Matter is the full title, all-inclusive—an index to its contents. This issue of 1874, reputedly rare, saw a change in publishers. The issues of 1871, 1872 and 1873 were published by H. R. Holsinger. "However, by 1874 James Quinter had taken over the printing interests of Holsinger. He continued to publish the Almanac from Dale City [Pa.] much as his predecessor had done."[1] The issue, similar to the preceding three issues, has a "cut" or picture of the old "Companion" office (Christian Family Companion, published by James Quinter) on the center of the front cover. Dr. Fahrney advertises his Blood Cleanser, or Panacea, on the inside front cover, with testimonials, warrantee, references and sure-cure claims.

The first thirteen pages contain almanac material—eclipses of the year 1874, signs of the zodiac, moveable [sic] festivals, and the seasons on page one, followed by information on each month on pages two to twelve.

On the lower seven or eight lines of each page of almanac information are quotations, such as: "God sees everything—this is consoling to the upright"; "A good example is the best sermon"; and "Many have been victorious in great temptations, and ruined by little ones."

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1. Harley, Chester I. A study of the yearbook of the Church of the Brethren. *Schwarzenau*, October, 1939. p. 15.

Immediately after the almanac section (on pages 14 to 23) is an article, "Farewell Words", written by Mr. H. R. Holsinger. You will remember that beginning with this issue (1874) the Almanac, heretofore published by Mr. Holsinger, was published by James Quinter. The article is more or less autobiographical in nature, recounting the author's experiences in the printing business up to the time of the accession of the business by James Quinter. Then follows a series of biographical sketches: Michael Pfautz, Jacob Sontag, Peter Keyser, Jr.—contributed to the Almanac by Abr'm H. Cassel, Harleysville, Pa., Sept. 24, 1873; and contributions by Franklin Holsinger, Kansas City, Mo., (relating an episode involving Brother A. Harper, Ray Co., Mo., during the War between the States); E. Heyser, Madison, Ga., (claiming to have baptized into the Brotherhood the first person in the State of Georgia, a Martha Timmons); J. S. Flory; Joseph I. Cover; and Lewis M. Kob, Franklin, Iowa. A selected list of "Blue Laws of Connecticut in Ancient Days" leaves one incredulous after perusal, while "Subjects for Prayer" by D. B. Mentzer, Waynesborough, Pa., are as timely today as they were at their date of publication.

Announcements of the Annual Meeting for 1874 and of six district meetings precede the Ministerial Directory, which as early as this issue had become an integral part of the Almanac. The list fills ten pages, having approximately 1300 names and addresses of ministers.

The inside back cover carries advertisements of books for sale by the publisher; Dr. Renner's Sugar-Coated Ague Pills ("They will cure nine cases out of ten"); and the statement that Cancers Are Cured by Dr. John Forney, Sen., of Falls City, Richardson County, Nebraska.

The entire outside back cover displays an ad for the "Christian Family Companion. . . Published every Tuesday, at $1.50 a Year, by James Quinter."

To sum up—The Almanac of 1874 has 32 pages, disposal of which is made as follows: pages 1-13 for the almanac, with quotations interspersed; pages 14-23 for contributions—articles and biographical sketches; one column of announcements; and pages 23-32 for the Ministerial directory.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN NATIONALISM: SEEDBED OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

ANDREW H. HOLDERREED

I

INTRODUCTION

A generation ago there would have been little occasion for a discussion of this nature. Indeed, the instigator would doubtless have been considered the forerunner of our modern "Reds", and "Parlour Communists." However, we of the Post-war period (and now observers and participants of World War the Second) have been forced to look with askance at the national states and that toward which they inevitably lead us. It is, therefore, quite to the point to seek to discover the history of our modern scourge as we attempt to evaluate modern society and mould its future course. And though we modern people flatter ourselves as being the acme of the progress of civilization, it is humiliating, to say the least, to discover that we are still very much in the "Dark Ages" with regards to government of states and the world. That we have the technical conveniences and devices means but little; the goal of all science, by present political theory, is to devise more efficient means of killing and blasting men—and almost we could say nations—off the face of the earth.

As to the course of procedure in this discussion, we shall use the very familiar cross-sectional method of inspection. It is necessary to understand that all the aspects are related to each other, and, not only that, but they are related to the events which preceded and followed after them. Only in their historic setting do these cross-sections have any obvious meaning. For the sake of time perspective, a chronological chart showing the parade of events in all the areas would be useful, but would involve unnecessary repetition.

Nationalism is not a child of modern times, nor was it a unique development of the Medieval Ages. In the Mediterranean World, however, the spirit of nationalism had been dominated for centuries by the internationalism of the vast Roman Empire. That great organization gave men a world-vision, even if it happened to be largely a Mediterranean-European world. In the chaos of its catastrophic collapse men were lost creatures; they knew not which way to turn.

Out of this disorder there gradually arose a system, which yet was not a system by reason of its variety of expression. In later times these all developed to form the feudal society of Europe. As the feudal order broke down from its own weight, there developed the nationalistic states.

II

Trade, Travel, and Commerce in Connection with Nationalism

In pursuing our line of interest we might begin with the most fundamental aspect of the situation. It will be recalled that at the downfall of the Roman Empire the life of the peoples of southern Europe came to a standstill. In the midst of insecurity, the treasures of durable nature and the gold money were taken out of circulation and buried. Trade diminished rapidly until in the tenth century it had virtually ceased to be. The international trade which had flourished on the seas and in continental Europe ceased to operate after the eighth century, with slight exceptions among the Jewish people. In connection with this, the professional merchant class which had been elevated by commerce had disappeared. That this lack of trade existed is further evidenced by the fact that the Church imposed prohibitions upon the lending of money at interest. In general, it may be said that until the passing of the tenth century the parts which had formerly been the most flourishing and progressive were the most deserted; the life and wealth now centered solely around the land. We realize that this was only a natural outcome of the terrific insecurity in which they lived, and, whereas before they had gravitated toward the cities for wealth and luxury, now they hastily left the cities and betook themselves to the land. (Interesting here to think of the recent evacuations of the capital cities of Europe.).

What hope was there for a rejuvenation of the European world? In these "latter days", as they thought, the Empire had ceased to operate effectively, and as yet the papal organization had not shown itself to be the unifier of the world. As usually happens in dire distress, poverty, famine, and danger, men do that which in their normal (?) lives they refuse to consider. Thus it was that men gathered together in small groups for mutual support and protection. And herein we find the early threads of our discussion, for from these groups grew (1) the trade guilds of the cities and (2) the

feudal societies of the country. Our chief interest in this section is with the trade guilds and the consequent effects upon the life and habits of the people.

As the people drew away from the starvation level of this gigantic depression, activity and population increased. The earliest demonstration of this occurred in Italy. Probably the cities had never entirely lost the vision of the government and order existing before the arrival of the barbarians, and therefore feudalism gained less hold on them than on the other cities of Europe. They demonstrated their right of self-protection in the tenth century as they erected walls around their cities to keep out the Huns. Both Berengar and Otho I respected this right. Quite naturally the Bishops in the various cities of Italy (around 1000), in the absence of any authoritative governmental agency, had assumed the prerogative of the administration of justice, command of a police army, and the assessment and collection of taxes. Such beneficent control fostered the growth of the trade guilds and the revival of small commercial enterprises in the cities. By the latter part of the eleventh century several of the larger cities had become rich enough and sufficiently organized to throw off their bishop rulers. The constitutions of the city governments by 1095 were commonly centered around consuls, ranging in number from two to twenty, and among whom were divided the administrative and judicial powers, and the command of the army. The consuls had an advisory body of elected citizens, and there was also a rudimentary parliament composed of all the citizenry.

In France during the eleventh century the free cities enjoyed an extensive growth, especially in Provence and Languedoc. These free communes were the logical developments of the trade and craft guilds and the revived industry and commerce. Here we must note the rise of the middle class as a weighty social unit, for while these French communes had charters, and thereby fitted into the feudal scheme, yet as the lords increased their taxations on the rich merchants, the latter revolted and assumed a position outside of the feudal order. Although not necessary to this phase of the discussion, we might note that these rebellious efforts were opposed by both the lords and the clergy.

The growth of the free cities was less characteristic in Germany, although we may be sure of the increasing influence of the merchantmen. Two factors retarded the developments there: the small self-

contained units of society; and the engagement of the German Crown in the vain struggle for World Empire, after that faded pattern of Charlemagne.

The next step in progress from the free city was that of the League of cities. Here again we turn to Italy for our earliest examples. Such was the strength of the citizen armies that they routed Frederick Barbarossa at Legnano, forced the Peace of Constance in 1183, and forced the abdication of all but the name of lordship over them. Thus the free cities assumed the position of a third power between the Church and the Empire: they recognized both, but held the right to stand apart from either. The German formation of city leagues did not occur until the latter part of the next century, when Mainz and some sixty-odd cities of upper Germany formed a protective league. The Hanseatic League marked the greatest development, following 1358.

Meanwhile, there had begun a vast movement in Europe which gave unprecedented impetus to the spread of trade and industry. The first Crusade set out in 1096 for the Holy Land. Although parts of it were meanly equipped, yet the million men required a huge supply of armor, equipment, and supplies. Industry came to life. And since these Crusades continued for two centuries, in addition to the continental wars, there was a constant demand for supplies. The great cities of Venice and Genoa had such a thriving industry that by 1202 Venice could supply a fleet to transport the Fourth Crusade to the East. It is recorded that more than two hundred boats left Venice in the convoy. The initial effect of the Crusades was to hasten the rise of the middle class through the expansion of the armament and outfitting industries, the building of ships, and sea commerce.

Since the ships were already constructed and in distant ports, there was little use to sending them home empty. So these Italian merchantmen sailed back with commodities of the East. Indeed, these "discoveries" were destined to revolutionize the life of Europe; never had they known of silks, cotton, spices, dyes, medicines, glass, gunpowder, nor had they known of the windmill, of irrigation, of the donkey and mule, of wheat and rice, of the fruits of the plum, apricot, mulberry and pomegranate trees. Immediately there sprang up the desire for the new commodities and luxuries of life. Medieval Europe's diet had long been monotonously unvaried.

With the lessening of poverty and danger there was a longing for better and more variety. The merchants of the free cities were in a position to capitalize on this desire.

Not only did the southern cities become beehives of industry but also the free cities and leagues of Germany, Scandinavia, England, and Flanders came into the trade boom. In addition to the sea routes and trade, overland lanes of transport were opened up. Thus it was that Medieval man became aware of a world outside of his own, and by that discovery and consequent attempt at satisfaction the merchant class came into being. The effect was to hasten the breakdown of feudalism and the theocracy, to usher in a revival of learning as an expression of individualism, and to lay the foundation for that unit of society which we call the national state.

III

The Influence of Education upon the Birth of Nationalism

Going back again to the terrible tenth century, and even farther, we remember that education and culture were at an exceedingly low ebb. In a world tumbling about their heads, the people had scanty time to acquire knowledge or to appreciate the finer qualities of life and art. Although vaguely impressed by the art and literature the barbarians were unable to comprehend their value. Only among the clergy and monastics was a ray of the learned past preserved. As the only group which had the time and security in which to pursue the less material features of life, the monks came to be the guardians of the Light. Needless to say this was not their intention; they withdrew from the evils of the world in order to devote themselves more completely to God. No doubt they served God faithfully, but perhaps not in the precise fashion which they thought. In order to be busy and useful some copied old manuscripts, others tilled the land and pruned the vine, to the edification and enlightenment of the ignorant peasants, and, of course, all engaged in their ritual services. Naturally an uncouth and ignorant novice made a poor servant of God. It was imperative that some training should be given him and so a need for schools was felt, not for personal value, but for the glorification of God.

The schoolmen of the Middle Ages exemplified the highest development of this intellectual effort. It was their intention that

through them might shine the greater glory of Mother Church and God. Therefore they effaced themselves as they sought to justify and systematize the existing traditions and doctrines. Again, as they did not intend, their effort gave to scholars of later times a form of mental discipline, intellectual curiosity, and a degree of intellectual freedom. In their attempt to bring reason to the support of faith the scholars opened the way for a new interest in man, and, in separating faith and knowledge, they also made way for the study of empirical, secular sciences.

Properly speaking, the schoolmen extended from Anselm of Canterbury in the eleventh century down to the Reformation. Most widely known are: Peter Abelard, Bernard of Clairvaux, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and William Occam. These master minds of the Middle Ages were intimately connected with the schools of the day, which evolved from the cathedral schools or the teacher-guilds into the universities. Bologna (1088) and Paris (1207) became the models for most of the western universities.

Here we pause to mention the languages. The scholars and clergy carried out their work and worship in the Latin tongue. The native dialects were considered to be vulgar and unfit for any good use. Oddly enough, under the papal-fostered Crusades chivalry arose, and chivalry, under idealistic stimulations, gave rise to romantic songs and ballads. Of course these were immensely more colorful and gratifying in the vernacular than in the formal Latin. France was the leader in this movement, with her wandering troubadours such as Christian Troyer (1195) who sang of Lancelot, Erec, and the Grail. The German minstrel-poets following after Wolfram von Eschenbach and Gottfried von Strassburg (1220) achieved no little fame as they chanted of Parcifal, Tristan, Isolde, and many nordic mythological characters. England and Italy followed much the same pattern. These wandering poets did much to create joy in the actions of men, and to unify the languages of the provinces into a national language.

As always happens, when the middle class member gains sufficient wealth to feel secure, he turns to leisure, to art, and culture. It was this which occurred in Italy in the thirteenth century. The ancient Latin and Greek classics were ferreted out and read with pleasure. These people were not particularly interested in religion, but of

course they were in the church and made no move toward separation from the group. Nevertheless this was a definite break with the medieval mind.

Well toward the front of the humanistic movement is the character of Dante, in spite of his medieval-mindedness. Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374) followed shortly after, and he truly was a dual character, having aspects of medieval life and thoughts and also of humanism. He was a restorer of Latin culture, a poet, collector of Latin classics, archeologist, nature lover, a critic of medieval learning, and medicinal practices. It is said that Petrarch was the first modern man to climb a mountain for pleasure. The follower of Petrarch was a man of the world, Giovanni Boccaccio, a Florentine who became a modern realist, content and satisfied to enjoy the world as it was. Boccaccio represents the master of the Italian prose. With these three men the Italian Renaissance was launched. Humanists sprang up everywhere; paradoxical as it may seem a humanist was elected pope in 1447 (Nicholas V). Two more hostile positions could not be found, for the new spirit magnified the individual, provoked inquiry and investigation, and it shook the foundation of Christian ideas of religion and morality.

The next step in the series we find exemplified in John Wyclif (1324-1384) of England. His private life was much like that of other eminent men of the age; from a landholder family, he became a scholar, master of a school, a priest and chaplain to the King, and was later detailed in his master's service to France. When he returned from his mission, and contact with the papacy in its captivity, he was a nonconformist and a reformer. In his later years he was forced out of Oxford by reason of his anti-papal sentiment and heretical views. His chief tenets were: the Scripture as the source of truth; the fallibility of the Pope; the necessity of reform of the corruption of the visible church; the falsity of the theory of transubstantiation. A central concept was that of predestination, which was an individualistic slap in the face of the theocratic universalism. Wyclif gave his people the first complete version of the Bible in English. His teachings attracted many of the noble and educated by reason of his patriotic views. We can note how nationalistic this reformer was when we recall that he was protected from the papacy, and a heretic's death, by the English Parliament. The close relation

of anti-papal reform and nationalism may be noted in subsequent reformers.

The Wyclif pattern of reform was carried out in Bohemia by John Huss (1369-1415), only with more fatal personal consequences. A scholar, professor at Prague, and a powerful preacher in the common tongue, he became the head of the nationalistic party. In short order he was excommunicated, imprisoned, condemned at Constance and burned as an abominable heretic.

In concluding this section, we have followed the ever-widening paths over which the medieval minds traveled as they changed from a blind acceptance of the theocratic ideals, in the days of insecurity, poverty and ignorance, to the inquisitive, challenging, and individualistic-nationalistic thinking of the reformers in days of rising world prosperity.

IV

Political Aspects of the Growth of Nationalism

Our purpose in this section is to note the general manner in which the nations were organized out of the feudal order and away from the control of the papacy.

The discussion of free cities in Italy led us to the formation of the Lombard and Pisan leagues which so soundly rebuffed Frederick Barbarossa, a victory largely due to the fact that feudalism possessed no power to compel Henry the Lion to aid his overlord. After Legnano the leagues fell into internal conflict, which was often used to advantage by the nobles as against the citizenry. Finally instead of the leagues there arose partisan groups, the Guelfs, consisting of commoners and supported by the papacy, and the Ghibellines, the advocates of aristocracy and the Empire. Frederick II found Italy in this condition in 1215 when he came to the throne. For fifteen years he could make no progress because the papacy, through the Guelfs, checked him at every hand. The truce of San Germano in 1230 gave him the opportunity to set up his state, Sicily, the first of the "modern" national states. He restricted clerical courts, defended laws of mortmain, tried to legitimate the children of the clergy, deprived barons of as much power as possible, forbade private war and the carrying of arms. He undertook to regulate the royal cities directly, and the free cities by placing in them his officials to check usurpation of authority. For the first time there appeared an official

class under the pay of an emperor and owing loyalty to him alone. The salaries were paid in coin, and the clergy was not eligible for any position. A rather complete bureaucratic system was set up with a Supreme Court, Royal Chamberlain, and a Supreme Chamber of Accounts to which the lesser officials were responsible. In addition to this, general Parliaments were held twice a year in five cities of the realm at which elected representatives had the right to criticize and suggest. This was the first "attempt to govern a state by the aid of a representation of its constituent parts."

We should note that all these new institutions depended upon the authority of the king—as backed by an efficient mercenary army, the like of which medieval Europe had not seen. By means of the money payment he permanently attached to his own person a dependable army, the greatest part of which was made up of Saracens. Not only did Frederick have an army, but he created a naval arm to defend commerce and protect coastal cities.

It must be stated that, unfortunately for the Italian people, the "democracy" lasted only as long as did Frederick II. On the occasion of his death, the stronger cities withdrew and opened that sanguine inter-city struggle which split the country into a half-dozen city republics.

The history of the nationalistic growth in England takes us back into the ninth century when Alfred forced the invading Danes to the Peace of Wedmore. In the next century, after various struggles, the Britons, Danes, and English held a national "election" and placed Eadred on the throne, the first national coronation (946). The basis of union was not strong enough to ride over sectional feuds. It was during this period that the feudal system came to see the degeneration of the freemen into vassals and serfs. Around the turn of the eleventh century the Danes again descended upon the weakened island forces and drove the king into Normandy. It was the Danish rule which forged the English nation, for the provincial differences were crushed, the lords were pushed into the middle class, and the serfs were elevated almost to complete freedom. Under the peaceful rule of Knut, commerce and trade expanded and the merchant class developed, together with free boroughs and villages.

In 1042 Godwine abandoned the Danish policy and recalled Edward the Confessor to the throne, although he remained as the directing influence until exiled in 1051. Harold, Godwine's son, be-

came the actual governor in 1053. His reign was cut short by the arrival of the Normans and the Norman Conqueror in 1066. By 1071 William ruled by right of conquest the entire English people. Because of the struggle, feudalism was now more organized than on the continent. William changed that, however, when the peace had been restored and maintained by an efficient army. He demanded that all the subjects take the oath directly to himself, thus eliminating the support which the lords could normally have commanded to attack him.

Henry I (1100-1135) hastened the growth of free cities by granting charters to large and prosperous boroughs and villages, by which means they became largely self governing. Henry II made efforts to unify the nation, and in doing that he found it necessary to restrict the judicial powers of the clergy and the lords. He made his intention known with regards to the clergy in the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164. Henry II also saw the inadequacy of the feudal army, and so he had the service commuted in the form of money and he hired mercenaries. This deprived the lords of any real power in the kingdom. The dishonest and fickle John had a deal of trouble with his people. Conditions were so bad that the barons, under the influence of Stephen Langton of Canterbury, assembled and demanded justice at Runnymede in 1215. King John signed the Magna Carta, but Innocent III absolved him from his oath.

Edward I called a model Parliament in 1295, the representatives for which were chosen from among the knights, the burgesses and from the cathedral chapters and the common clergy. This parliament was important as the initial form of the House of Commons.

The Hundred Years' War with France (1336-1431) did much to consolidate the national feeling of England. In 1376 Parliament demanded an account of the expenditures of royal revenues. That body felt that in subsequent years all matters of concern to the nation should be referred to itself rather than to the sole judgment of the King. As early as 1341 the two bodies of Parliament were separated, the knights being placed in the House of Commons with the burgesses and commoners.

The effect of the Black Plague tended to elevate the serfs into free laborers. Under Wat Tyler, and possibly influenced by Wyclif's teachings, the Peasant Revolt sought to resist the efforts of the lords to hold down the common people to the soil.

We should not fail to notice the effect of the legalization of the English language in 1362. This act produced a nationalistic feeling which had never existed before.

The development of modern France began in much the same manner as in Italy and England. It was in that area that feudalism and chivalry found its highest expression so we are already familiar with the early pattern of the history. The first of the Capets were not outstanding. Our crystallization of nationalism begins properly with Philip Augustus (1180-1223). The key to the monarchical growth is found in the interdependence of the king and the feudal heirarchy. It was not by opposing feudalism outright, but by recognizing, controlling and replacing the rights that Philip started the expansion of the royalty.

The first move was the appointment of royal officials to represent the king primarily in the king's private domain. But a secondary function of these officers was to spread, where possible, into the feudal territory. Frequently these men were trained lawyers, and therefore were able to handle cases which the clergy and lords could not. By legal fiction the jurisdiction of the royal house was ever extended.

Feudal rights were further encroached upon as Louis IX prohibited private warfare (1257) and the wager of battle as court proof of right or innocence. Both of these were essential to medieval practice. Now, justice came less to depend upon war prowess, and more upon the Throne or State. This is the very essence of the modern position.

The expansion of the royal lands was carried out according to the feudal code. The Crown received lands by reversion on the death of an heirless vassal, by failure of allegiance, and by claiming all open fiefs. The only difference between this and the action of any other lord was that the "king" never died and hence the land only accumulated. With regards to land, Louis IX came to blows with the clergy; as landholders he proposed to rule and tax them, in spite of the fact that as a religion he respected the church. Another forward step in the amalgamation was the striking of royal money in 1263 which was to be legal tender in all of the country of France. This coinage gradually replaced the eighty local feudal issues.

It was Philip IV who was nationalistic enough to quarrel with the Pope. Boniface VIII made attempts to intervene in a French-Eng-

lish struggle, and for this interference, Philip levied a tax on the clergy for war expenses. It was evident from the first that the papacy was in a losing struggle, for even the French clergy sided with Philip (beginnings of a national clergy). One development of the quarrel was the calling together of the first Estates General to consent to his royal policy. This aided materially in consolidating the people behind the royalty. As they became royalty conscious, they also became aware of themselves as a great nation, a people with a common language, tradition, and heritage. After the subjugation of Boniface VIII, Philip practically controlled the papacy. Under Clement V, who moved the Papal residence to France, Philip caused the trial of Boniface, the destruction of the Templars, and made a bid for the Imperial throne for his brother. The degree to which the French people had become a nationalistic unit is further attested by the seventy years of the Babylonian Captivity.

The history of the nationalistic development in France, as in Italy and England, has made clear the general trends which all the states have followed in their formation as national units.

V

Theocratic Aids to Nationalistic Development

The ultimate goal of the medieval papacy was obvious; as representatives of Christ, the great duty was to set up the kingdom of God here on earth by such means as that end required. Christ had not foreseen (?) the necessity of using police force to maintain order in the absence of government, and to protect Church property.

To the characteristic medieval man the height of virtue was found in the one who gave up his worldly possessions (most frequently to the Church) and retired to the monastery for a closer walk with God. However, the Church polity in the long run did not lead to such life. Insofar as it encouraged thrift, frugality, and industry it encouraged a state of mind in danger of becoming engrossed with worldly matters. We have witnessed the influence of trade in this direction. Under the warm radiance of material abundance the austere semi-ascetic medieval piety relaxed.

We have also noted the manner in which the cathedral schools fostered questioning and groping minds, and gave rise to universities and to Scholasticism. Although these advances were ostensibly for

support of the Church, yet their more ultimate service was to pave the way for greater intellectual freedom. The very tenacity with which the papacy insisted on adherence to the old theories insured a break in thought, for all of men's minds cannot be confined and controlled forever. In making the break, almost by necessity the leaders must take an exaggerated stand and therefore, as against the theocratic universalism, the reformers championed nationalistic individualism.

As we briefly examine the great papal-fostered movement of the time we shall discover other qualities inherent in the theocracy which led to the rise of nationalism.

Among all the mass military movements of recorded history few have been as significant as the Crusades. During the two centuries millions of men caught the Crusader spirit and marched off to fight for the Holy Land, and those millions, save a few hundred thousands, failed to return to Europe. In looking over the causes of the Crusades we find: the zeal of the popes to extend the faith; the intense, degenerate, fanatic religious enthusiasm; the hope of securing spiritual benefits by such effort and death, and possibly from the conversion of a few non-Christian pagans. Not all aims could be as high as these. The mercenary hopes of the merchant-industry group led them to participate chiefly for solid monetary rewards. Certain kings might have desired rich provinces of the East. Possibly the Pope wouldn't have objected to the subjugation of the Eastern Church. Hundreds of thousands of rascals, criminals, and prisoners had thereby a chance to make a name and a stake in life—and escape a living death in prison.

Measured in terms of the stated objectives the Crusades were a complete failure. The effects, however, upon the European world can scarcely be appreciated. Although we have pointed out the lines of influence on the rise of trade, travel, and the habits of Europe, we will endeavor to summarize the effects upon the intellectual life, the papacy, the feudal order, and thereby to indicate the effect upon the rise of nationalism.

The awakening trade brought Europeans into contact with other peoples, and for the first time in centuries they received ideas of a different culture. This and the travel involved transferred the interest out of themselves into new things of the world. It was nothing short of miraculous; the incurious had become acutely curious.

The immediate effect of the Crusades upon the papacy was to increase its power. The Latin Church for the time was extended to Palestine and Constantinople, and the Pope became the unquestioned head of all Christendom. By means of the Crusades Innocent III was able to achieve that which Gregory VII had established as an ideal. Through the "longest, bloodiest, and most destructive religious war in all history" the Pope made himself the "dictator of Emperors, Kings, and nobles." The influx of wealth to the Church was no less proportionate. The Crusades developed the practice of the sale of indulgences, and the huge traffic in relics and martyr worship.

But the wealth, power, and the effect of vice on the church and the horrible abuses and corruption thereby fostered combined to disintegrate the whole system. The popes no longer had the pure ideals nor the intellectual capacities of the men who had made possible the power. And indeed the times had changed. But they were more interested in wealth and power as such. The very corruption made reforms unavoidable, only a matter of time. The Church was no longer able to command the respect of all men's souls and bodies as before; it now had no agent to enforce its universal command. It had lost its great united armies, and some even did not fear the interdict and excommunication. Thus was the growth of many lesser powers engendered, and the voice of the Church more and more confined to one area of life and not without heretical questioning there.

The Crusades in reality sounded the death-toll of feudalism. We see how important this is when we recall the extent to which the Church had identified itself with the feudal order. Some of the effects were: wholesale death of feudal lords; loss of fief lands by nobility to finance expeditions; a new and middle class nobility appeared and with them the free cities; the feudal subjects were severely diminished in number and consequently demands for free laborers came; the feudal armies were replaced by standing mercenary armies paid with tax money. All of this played into the hands of the kings. Heretofore they had been but puppets. By leading the Crusaders in person they gained tremendous popularity and influence, augmented by the quarrels in the field. Not only that but the kings increased their power by claiming, as was their feudal right, the fiefs which had been forfeited or defaulted by the barons and lords. Fortunately for the kings, many of the lords who formerly opposed the growth

of monarchical powers were killed in action. The kings early took advantage of the mercenary armies, for they saw the inherent weakness of the feudal weapon. This gave them fast, effective, and loyal soldiers, at least as long as they had their pay. Frederick II, for example, had an army of 20,000 Saracens to assist him in his Italian state adventure. The Crusades also aided the kings by forcing the feudal lords to organize into a more effective system. When this happened the king naturally assumed a more prominent role as the head. A remarkable feature was that private feudal wars were prohibited; justice was also taken out of the hands of the landholders and placed with the royal agents.

It is evident that the feudal order, and, to a lesser degree, the Church hierarchy had become but tottering shells of what they had been. The feudal shadow lingered on in some countries until late, especially in Germany. And yet again in the fifteenth century the Papacy was able to rally an armed crusade against the heretical forces of Bohemia. The banners of the Theocracy still herald the chief tenets of the Church of the Middle Ages.

VI

Summary of Findings

The various lines of discussion which we have pursued have demonstrated that nationalism did not arise suddenly as a new and isolated phenomenon. Its rise, together with that reform which we know as Protestantism, was guaranteed by the inherent weakness and consequent corruption of the theocratic ideal as set forth by the Medieval Church. As a reactionary movement, we need not be surprised that nationalistic-Protestant thinking erred on the same basic position, only on a different side. Nor need we be surprised that the Medieval Church took the position that it did. Certain fundamental concepts which Jesus gave were not even grasped by the disciples. Naturally by the time of the dissolution of the Roman Empire these errors had been enlarged. We know how prevalent was asceticism, and monasticism; the thinking which promulgated them was similar to that of those who courted martyrdom. Perceiving that some good men were willing to be martyrs for their faith, they wished to become martyrs for that faith. The later people observed that some righteous persons were frugal, and very generous with their material means; therefore they thought that by denying themselves, by

giving away the material of the world they should attain righteousness. What really was going on was not the Christianizing of the pagans, but the Paganizing of Christianity. With this background of mistaken enthusiasm for works as the means for securing faith, and an institution that had acquired extensive gifts from would-be pious people, it is not strange that the bishops should take steps to protect that property for God and the welfare of the Saints. These steps involved assumption of a temporal police, judicial and administrative position in a chaotic world which had lost its governmental agencies for such functions. And later when governmental agencies had been vivified, it was only human that the popes should maintain that attitude toward the world; the logical end of this was the theocratic ideal of Hildebrand. But the inflexibility of the papacy in the face of a changed world prescribed the fall of the system; it sealed its own fate and in doing so cast upon the world the nationalized form of religion, the nationalized Christ which we know only too well in our own tragic days.

Through all the meanderings of social change in history we hope can be found the vital strains of that Spirit which shall arise ever and ever again, and shall lift up the Prince of Peace before mankind, and shall endeavor to spread the Spiritual Kingdom in harmony with the spirit of Christ.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Wave of the Future, Anne Morrow Lindbergh. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 383 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. Price $1.00.

This is a book—or more accurately a booklet—which ought to be required reading for everyone from the senior class of high school upwards who is a patriotic American and peace-minded.

Few books its size in all the world's history have provoked more discussion.

The book's sub-title is "A Confession of Faith." The authoress is an American—a lover of her country and of humanity. "I offer . . . a record of my attempt to reconcile the many conflicting points of view which have assailed me in travels abroad and at home during the last troubled years."

With incisive sentences of beauty the writer presents the reasoning that "the world in which we were brought up—the good, the Christian, the democratic, the capitalistic world"—was doomed to pass because of its own inherent defects. One feels as one reads that all the statesmen and dictators out in front are marionettes and puppets in the swell of the on-coming wave of the future order. Whatever that order will be, it will correct certain defects of the social order in which we have lived.

Mrs. Lindbergh pleads rightly that Americans ought to be able to take a planetary viewpoint. Those who are committed by faith in the Prince of Peace to peace as a way of life need in this day an intellectual apologia for their way of life. Here it is.

Said a college student recently—"It is a great book. I read it one day in twenty minutes." But it is the kind of book one will go back to and regret it, if he doesn't own it.

Finally its prose exhibits that limpid poetic quality which the other books of the authoress possess. For Anne Morrow Lindbergh is a poetess who writes in prose. This poetess has written an essay in historical interpretation, which this student believes is true.

Meet Henry Kurtz, H. A. Brandt. Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois. Price $1.00.

There was just one man who ought to have written this book and that was the author of "Christopher Sower and Son."

This year (1941) is the Ninetieth Anniversary of the re-introduction of the printing press into the Brethren's usage. It was most fitting that this biographer of the pioneer printer, publisher, and editor should appear this year.

The book is written in a manner that compels the reader's attention. By a legitimate use of imagination the author has so united documentary facts that the book reads as interestingly as any novel.

Little-known facts concerning Kurtz are given proper publicity. For instance, his fondness for and ownership of a pipe-organ needs to be re-

membered in evaluating the Western influence on Brethren church life.

One secures an appreciation of Brethren periodicals' development through reading this book.

An unintended effect of the book is to give one a rather accurate vignette of nineteenth century American life.

The Story of Our Church, by J. E. Miller. Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois. Price $1.25.

This is the first general history of the church which has been written since 1919. It was time for a fresh retelling of the saga of Brotherhood which began at Schwarzenau.

The author is eminently qualified to write the story. Whatever virtue we should expect in such a history written by J. E. Miller we should expect it to be interesting. It is.

This history is written particularly for young people. We believe it will be of genuine value to the many (we hope very many) young people who read it.

A book that will hold the attention of young men and women will also instruct their elders.

The fourteen chapters are all interesting, but the last chapter, "Our Heritage," stands out as one of the best chapters in Brethren literature.

Misunderstood Subjects, by William Kinsey. The Elgin Press, Elgin, Illinois, 1941. Price $1.00.

This is a book which will be read after many a volume more widely advertised has passed into the limbo of the pulp mill.

This neat little volume of 128 pages represents the practical reflections of a genuine Bible student upon a number of common subjects.

It is the virtue of the book that the "misunderstood subjects" selected are those of enduring interest and recurring discussion.

Who is not interested in "The Signs of the Times"? In "Disturbing the Peace"? In "The Making of Peace"? "The Jews and the New Covenant"? In "The Second Coming of Christ"? (This chapter alone is worth more than the price of the book). Who hasn't pondered "The Blood In Our Salvation"? Then the seventh and last chapter is devoted to "Rules for Studying the Bible".

When this reviewer was a boy there came into his hands a small volume by a veteran English minister. It was the summary of his Biblical study and reflection upon a number of themes of interest to religious people. That volume helped form my mind.

I predict a similar mission for this book in days to come to some of its thoughtful readers.

A minister reading the book will certainly get some sermon ideas.

In appearance and content the book is suitable as a gift volume.

The book is spiced by the author's ventures into poetic composition.

Memories of Manchester, by Otho Winger. The Elgin Press, Elgin, Illinois. Price $2.00.

The University made its appearance in Europe with the first evidences of the shift from feudal to commercial-capitalistic civilization. The University has from the first been the keystone of the cultural arch of the Western World.

In the United States, the liberal arts college has been the prevailing version of the university idea. Our civilization has literally depended upon its liberal arts colleges. Insofar as these institutions have been under Christian control, they have impressed a Christian quality upon our Western culture.

The effective administrators and teachers of these Christian colleges have been the spiritual Fathers of the West.

Here we have the admirably written reminiscences of one of the eminent modern Fathers of the West. To serve as college president thirty years is a record seldom equaled. When that term lifts an obscure school of uncertain existence into the degree of influence in its denomination, its state, the Middle West, that Manchester College has achieved—the enduring fame of its president is secure.

Reminiscences accurately written are one of the most valuable forms of history. These reminiscences are in the best style of President Winger. He is the most widely-read living writer of the Church of the Brethren.

For all Manchester students there is pride, thrill, school-patriotism, laughter, and touch of tears in this book.

To all other than Manchester students, the story has a representative value. Manchester has stood as an exponent of a Christian democratic view of life. The life of the institution and the character of its teachers exemplify this faith. To those who have received this training has been entrusted the future of this view of life and education.

This book is not mere "sweetness and light." It has sentences that have the vigor of its author. It has views expressed that ought to evoke discussion.

The book is excellently illustrated. Its amount of material astounds one. Its last chapter is in brief form a number of President Winger's Chapel speeches which create in some of us a nostalgic yearning for the old days.

F. E. M.

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